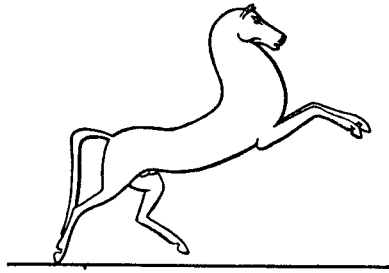


THE HYKSOS RECONSIDERED



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THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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PREFACE

To acknowledge properly aid and suggestions received in the formulation of this study would be difficult. It was first written as a doctoral dissertation under the direction and stimulating supervision of Professor W. F. Edgerton, although that task would have fallen to Professor A. T. Olmstead had he not been in the Near East in 1937. However, many angles of the question had been discussed in detail with him before his departure. Professor J. A. Wilson has devoted considerable thought and time to its criticism, as indeed have many members of the faculty and Oriental Institute staff. In particular Doctors M. Sprengling, W. A. Irwin, G. G. Cameron, W. H. Dubberstein, G. R. Hughes, and K. C. Seele have made a number of pertinent suggestions. The writer wishes to thank Professor Wilson and Dr. T. G. Allen, editors of the Oriental Institute, for including this study in this series, and Mrs. Elizabeth Hauser for painstaking effort in the editing itself. Professor W. F. Albright, of Johns Hopkins University, criticized the manuscript, and Mr. Ambrose Lansing, of the Metropolitan Museum, provided some unpublished data. It will be apparent where this study differs from Professor Albright's point of view. Finally, the writer acknowledges the aid of his wife, Irene Nugent Engberg, who helped in numerous ways. To one and all the writer wishes to express his hearty gratitude.

ROBERT M. ENGBERG

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAA</i>	Annals of archaeology and anthropology (Liverpool, 1908—).
<i>AASOR</i>	American Schools of Oriental Research. Annual (New Haven, 1920—).
<i>AJSL</i>	American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884—).
<i>BAR</i>	BREASTED, JAMES HENRY. Ancient records of Egypt (5 vols.; Chicago, 1906).
<i>BASOR</i>	American Schools of Oriental Research. Bulletin (South Hadley, Mass., 1919—).
<i>ILN</i>	The illustrated London news (London, 1842—).
<i>JEA</i>	The journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914—).
<i>JPOS</i>	Palestine Oriental Society. The journal (Jerusalem, 1923—).
Macalister, <i>Gezer</i>	MACALISTER, R. A. STEWART. The excavation of Gezer, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909 (3 vols.; London, 1912).
<i>OIP</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
<i>OIP XXXIII</i>	GUY, P. L. O., and ENGBERG, ROBERT M. Megiddo tombs (1938).
<i>PEFQS</i>	Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly statement (London, 1869—).
<i>PSBA</i>	Society of Biblical Archaeology. Proceedings (London, 1879-1918).
<i>SAOC</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Studies in ancient oriental civilization (Chicago, 1931—).
<i>SAOC</i> No. 17	SHIPTON, GEOFFREY M. Notes on the Megiddo pottery of Strata VI-XX (1939).
<i>Urk.</i>	Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums (Leipzig, 1903—).
<i>Wb.</i>	ERMAN, ADOLF, and GRAPOW, HERMANN. Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache (Leipzig, 1925—).
<i>WVDOG</i>	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900—).
<i>ZAS</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache (Leipzig, 1863—).

I

INTRODUCTION

An able scholar in Near Eastern studies has said: "To touch upon the Hyksos problem is still much like stirring up a hornet's nest."¹ Whether this latest stirring has been worth while we leave to others to judge. An effort has been made to utilize contemporary and early written sources and to blend them wherever possible with the archeological record. At the same time it has been necessary to review certain data which are basic to an understanding of the Hyksos question. In so doing a general review of source materials has taken place.

In the past there has been heated discussion as to when the Hyksos entered Egypt. It is now commonly accepted that they were driven out about 1580 B.C. by Ahmose I, first king of the 18th dynasty. On the basis of Sethe's interpretation of the "stela of the year 400" it is now concluded that the Hyksos came into power in the Delta about 1730 B.C. and accordingly reigned in Egypt, with varying success, for a century and a half. But at the same time the concept has become firmly fixed that the Hyksos arrived suddenly, as a conquering horde, out of their original homes and assumed control of an Egypt seriously weakened through a period of internal disorder. One of the purposes of this paper is to question the assumption that the Hyksos arrived with such devastating suddenness. There seem indeed to be numerous indications that these people were a cultural force in the Nile Valley as early as the reign of Sesostriis II (1906-1887 B.C.), that is, by the middle of the 12th dynasty. We distinguish sharply, of course, between cultural and political influences. There appears to be no reason to suspect that the Hyksos ruled in Egypt before 1730 B.C. On the other hand, it is little more than natural that cultural influences established earlier in neighboring Asiatic territory should have been felt to some extent in Egypt, perhaps transmitted in part by the people themselves.

¹ E. A. Speiser, "Ethnic movements in the Near East in the second millennium B.C." (*AASOR* XIII [1933] 13-54) p. 46.

The problem resolves itself about the question: How is one to interpret the archeological appearance of a new culture? In the case in question it will be shown (chap. iv) that new cultural elements were introduced to Syria, Palestine, and to some extent Egypt by 1900 B.C. These elements were unquestionably related in character to the specialized culture possessed by the Hyksos during the period of their political power. An explanation is required, an explanation in harmony with the facts that Egypt was in the midst of one of her most glorious periods and that Byblos on the Syrian coast showed fealty to Egypt as late as perhaps 1740 B.C. A satisfactory answer seems to lie in the interpretation of the Hyksos movement as an action slow to develop, but one which gathered power as a snowball grows in size. The collapse of the 12th dynasty and Egypt's subsequent weakness could only aid a movement with the background here suggested, with the result that the first Hyksos dynasty established itself in the Delta about 1730 B.C.

Considering the Hyksos movement to have begun (in the eastern Mediterranean area) about the beginning of the 19th century, judging from ceramic evidence, we find no conflict with historical fact and at the same time have an explanation for the early appearance of products which if found in contexts dated a couple of centuries later would be called Hyksos without hesitation. In the writer's opinion the only change necessary to previous views of the Hyksos is to regard them as having come in small and ethnically disparate groups, increasing in number until finally they gained such influence through infiltration, as apparently the Kassites did in Babylonia, that the various elements became a political factor. On such a foundation the 15th dynasty rose to power.

The Hyksos as a ruling people ceased to exist in Egypt after their expulsion by Ahmose. But again it must be recognized that cultural and political influences are not necessarily parallel or directly related. There are a number of indications that Hyksos ideas continued to color the life of Egypt well into the 18th dynasty (chap. v). As for Palestine, we regard Thutmose III as having dealt the crucial blow to Hyksos ambitions in Asia, but it seems likely that Hyksos blood, modes, and practices entered into the composition of the Canaanites as we see them at the coming of the Hebrews.

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Here we have no intention of giving a minute archeological picture of Hyksos material culture. Such information can be found in various excavation reports. On the other hand, we have attempted to give an inclusive view of certain Hyksos problems and in some cases have gone into what may seem disproportionate detail. It is hoped that this procedure will have been justified by its results.

II

THE HYKSOS FROM ANCIENT WRITTEN SOURCES

Until the latter part of the 19th century practically all that was known of the Hyksos, if we except chronological lists, came from the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, who lived in the first century after Christ. In an effort to establish a respectable antiquity for his people, something not accorded them by Greek writers, he quoted and paraphrased Manetho, an Egyptian historian who lived in early Ptolemaic times. In so doing he tried to show that the Jews and the Hyksos were one and the same and that they left Egypt (the Exodus) almost a thousand years before the Trojan war,¹ which in Greek eyes was itself of considerable antiquity. None of the original Manetho has ever been found, and it is only in later works such as those of Josephus that we are given an insight into his writings.² Yet even these were written some 1300 years after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt and are accordingly suspect, even as we now know that some of Manetho's statements are obvious impossibilities. On the other hand, a certain amount of truth is undoubtedly contained in Manetho's narrative, as we shall see when we investigate the earlier records that have been uncovered in the last half-century.³ It is to Manetho that we owe the name "Hyksos," a term apparently not used before his time. In the following paragraphs are given the essential portions of Manetho as told by Josephus:

In the second book of his *History of Egypt* this Manetho writes about us (the Jews) as follows. I will quote his own words, just as if I had produced the man himself in the witness-box:

"Tutimaeus. In his reign, I know not why, a blast of God's displeasure broke upon us. A people of ignoble origin from the east, whose coming was

¹ *Against Apion* i 103-5.

² Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I 2 (5. Aufl.; Stuttgart und Berlin, 1926) § 151, gives a concise statement of the sources for Manetho. See also his *Aegyptische Chronologie* (K. Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen," 1904, Nr. 1) pp. 80-88.

³ For monuments known before 1918 see Raymond Weill, *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien* (Paris, 1918).

unforeseen, had the audacity to invade the country, which they mastered by main force without difficulty or even a battle. Having overpowered the chiefs, they then savagely burnt the cities, razed the temples of the gods to the ground, and treated the whole native population with the utmost cruelty, massacring some, and carrying off the wives and children of others into slavery. Finally they made one of their number, named Salatis, king. He resided at Memphis, exacted tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and left garrisons in the places most suited for defence. In particular he secured his eastern flank, as he foresaw that the Assyrians, as their power increased in future, would covet and attack his realm. Having discovered in the Sethroite nome a city very favourably situated on the east of the Bubastis arm of the river, called after some ancient theological tradition Auaris, he rebuilt and strongly fortified it with walls, and established a garrison there numbering as many as two hundred and forty thousand armed men to protect his frontier. This place he used to visit every summer, partly to serve out rations and pay to his troops, partly to give them a careful training in manoeuvres, in order to intimidate foreigners. After a reign of nineteen years he died."

There follows the list of succeeding kings: Bnon (44 years), Apachnas (36 years and 7 months), Apophis (61 years), Jannas (50 years and 1 month), and Assis (49 years and 2 months).

The Manetho narrative continues:

"The continually growing ambition of these six, their first rulers, was to extirpate the Egyptian people. Their race bore the generic name of Hycsos, which means 'king-shepherds.' For *hyc* in the sacred language denotes 'king,' and *sos* in the common dialect means 'shepherd' or 'shepherds'; the combined words form Hycsos. Some say that they were Arabians."

Josephus proceeds in his own words:

[In another copy, however, it is stated that the word *hyc* does not mean "kings," but indicates, on the contrary, that the shepherds were "captives." . . .]

This view appears to me the more probable and more reconcilable with ancient history.

The kings of the so-called shepherds, enumerated above, and their descendants, remained masters of Egypt, according to Manetho, for five hundred and eleven years.

In the following paragraph Josephus paraphrases Manetho:

Then the kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt rose in revolt against the shepherds, and a great war broke out, which was of long duration. Under a king named Misphegmouthosis, the shepherds, he says, were defeated, driven out of all the rest of Egypt, and confined in a place called Auaris, containing ten thousand *arourae*. The shepherds, according to

Manetho, enclosed the whole of this area with a great strong wall, in order to secure all their possessions and spoils. Thoummosis, the son of Mispthagmouthis (he continues), invested the walls with an army of 480,000 men, and endeavoured to reduce them to submission by siege. Despairing of achieving his object, he concluded a treaty, under which they were all to evacuate Egypt and go whither they would unmolested. Upon these terms no fewer than two hundred and forty thousand, entire households with their possessions, left Egypt and traversed the desert to Syria. Then, terrified by the might of the Assyrians, who at that time were masters of Asia, they built a city in the country now called Judaea, capable of accommodating their vast company, and gave it the name of Jerusalem.⁴

We may immediately question the strength of Assyria⁵ at that time, as well as the area and number of men attributed to Avaris, the Hyksos capitol. Furthermore, it is hardly likely that the Hyksos, on their expulsion, established themselves in a new city of Jerusalem. But one cannot fail to realize the value that this statement had for Josephus.

Before considering the more ancient records to note their bearing on the Ptolemaic tradition, let us turn to the term "Hyksos." As we have seen, it is due to Manetho. His etymology is plausible, since both elements of the term have possible equivalents in Egyptian with the approximate meanings that Manetho attached to them.⁶ However, it is now generally thought that the Egyptian term lying back of "Hyksos" is *ḥkꜣw ḥꜣšw.t*, meaning "rulers of foreign countries."⁷ This derivation was first proposed by Griffith.⁸ It should be pointed out, however, that the term is known from Egyptian sources as early as the 6th dynasty and as late as Ptolemaic times,⁹ a period obviously

⁴ *Against Apion* i 74-90 (English translation by H. St. J. Thackeray [London, 1926]).

⁵ Assyria has usually been regarded as anachronistic in the Manethonian account, but H. R. Hall (*The Ancient History of the Near East* [7th ed. rev.; London, 1927] p. 215, n. 2) did not so regard it. The Greeks, he said, called all Mesopotamians by the term "Assyrian."

⁶ *Ḥkꜣ* means "ruler" or "chieftain"; *ššw*, meaning "Bedouins," could become Greek *ššs* via Coptic *ššs:šas*. Cf. Battiscombe Gunn and Alan H. Gardiner in *JEA* V (1918) 38.

⁷ However, both Egyptian terms are still considered as possibilities in *Wb*.

⁸ *PSBA* XIX (1897) 297. The following year W. Max Müller made a similar suggestion in *Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, Mitteilungen* III (Berlin, 1898) 110-13.

⁹ See Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 38.

longer than that involved in the Hyksos occupation of Egypt. There is no proof at present that the term was an appellative only with regard to the Hyksos. But if the development of the name "Hyksos" is correctly understood, it is necessary to imply that the term hk^3w $h^3sw.t$ became crystallized as an appellative in the form known to Manetho. Apparent instances have not been observed before the 18th dynasty, after the expulsion from Egypt.¹⁰ During the Hyksos period in Egypt they seem to have been referred to chiefly as Aamu,¹¹ which may have meant "Asiatics."

Aside from the Greek sources, in which certain Hyksos kings' names appear in their Greek forms, there are Egyptian king lists which are much fuller if somewhat contradictory. The Turin Papyrus is one of the sources which includes the Hyksos period, but unfortunately some portions are very fragmentary.¹² Another is a list of kings (now in the Louvre) from Karnak temple, near modern Luxor.¹³ These facts are noted only in passing, since had we the correct royal chronology for the period we would still lack events or conditions to attach to the names. It appears that only further excavation in Hyksos deposits in Egypt will give information, perhaps in the form of papyri, regarding such matters. Scarabs bearing previously unknown royal names are occasionally found which, from their context or style, are known to be

¹⁰ On the other hand, some Hyksos kings are known to have referred to themselves on monuments or scarabs as hk^3 $h^3sw.t$, "ruler of foreign countries." Such are Khyan (Macalister, *Gezer* III, Pl. cciv b 16), Semken (W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* [London, 1917] Pl. XXI), and Anat-Her (Percy E. Newberry, *Scarabs* [London, 1908] Pl. XXIII 11).

¹¹ Carnarvon Tablet I (see *JEA* V 46), inscription of Speos Artemidos (see *BAR* II, § 303), and perhaps Papyrus Sallier I (see Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 40, n. 5); but also "Setetyu" in Carnarvon Tablet I (see *JEA* V 46) and "Mentyu Setet" by Ahmose son of Ebana (*Urk.* IV 5:4).

¹² See Giulio Farina, *Il papiro dei re restaurato* (R. Museo di Torino, "Pubblicazioni egittologiche" I [Roma, 1938]) p. 56, for a list which apparently contained the names of six Hyksos kings. The list is followed by the statement: dmd [hk^3] h^3st 6 $ir.n.sn$ $rnp.t$ 108, "Total six [Hyk]sos, they ruled 108 years."

¹³ Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. II. *Theban Temples* (Oxford, 1929) p. 42. There are king lists at Abydos and Sakkarah also, but these disdainfully contain no Hyksos names. The intruders remained in memory as enemies long after they had fled the country. At Deir el-Medinah two tombs contain partial lists, including some 17th dynasty but no Hyksos names (Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* V, Pl. 2).

Hyksos. But these are not likely to settle the problem of chronology or to add materially to our understanding of the period.

On the other hand, some progress has been made in the delineation of the dark period following the close of the 12th dynasty. It is generally accepted that the 13th to 17th dynasties as outlined by Manetho could not have run consecutively but were partially concurrent. The 13th dynasty was established at Thebes and at its inception (*ca.* 1788 B.C.) controlled the country from the Delta to the Second Cataract.¹⁴ It seems reasonably certain also that through the reign of the fourth king of this dynasty conditions remained much the same. However, the fifth king, as shown by the Turin list, bore a name (Iufni¹⁵) at variance with the usual royal form. In spite of our lack of clear evidence, it appears that from this time on Egypt was subjected to great internal stress with ephemeral kings following one another with a rapidity possible only in time of chaos. Local lords, private individuals, and foreigners appear in the lists of Egypt's rulers during the turbulent 13th dynasty.¹⁶

The 14th dynasty had its seat in the Delta at Xoïs, according to Manetho, and seems to have been a product of the dissolution of the country soon after the beginning of the 13th dynasty. In other words, the 13th and 14th dynasties were more or less contemporary, the one established at Thebes, the other in the Delta.

Vague as is our knowledge of the times it is fairly certain that the first Hyksos dynasty, the 15th, gained a footing in the Delta at the expense of the 14th dynasty. As for the still existent 13th dynasty at Thebes, it is plausible that its last kings came under the influence of the Hyksos. Eduard Meyer has suggested that Nehsi, the third from the last king of the 13th dynasty, as well as his father were vassals of the Hyksos.¹⁷

As to the time when the Hyksos established the 15th dynasty at Avaris, the principal new evidence lies in the reinterpretation by Sethe of the "stela of the year 400," first found by Mariette at Tanis in the

¹⁴ *BAR* I, §§ 751-52.

¹⁵ Henri Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* II (Le Caire, 1910) 7.

¹⁶ James Henry Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1905) pp. 211 f.

¹⁷ *Geschichte* I 2 (1926) pp. 305 and 316 f.

middle of the last century¹⁸ and rediscovered by Montet a few years ago.¹⁹

This stela is notable for the fact that it commemorates the 400th year of the "King of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Set-^a-pehti,' Son of Re 'Nubti.'" The formula is that of an Egyptian king,²⁰ but the names and epithets are actually those of Set, the antagonist of Osiris. While extremely puzzling at first sight, this stela seems to contain the very information we have been seeking. It appears indeed to be commemorating the 400th anniversary of the founding of the city of Avaris,²¹ but since Avaris had been erected by the Hyksos, on whom opprobrium still rested, a circumlocution became necessary. The credit instead was given to Set, who, although an Egyptian god, had become identified with an Asiatic god of the Hyksos. In order to follow this hypothesis to its conclusion it was necessary to determine under whose reign the 400th anniversary fell. To Sethe it appeared that it occurred in the reign of Harmhab, perhaps about 1330 B.C.²² The resulting date for the establishment of the Hyksos in the Delta would then have been about 1730 B.C. Such a date, while apparently satisfactory, also has drawbacks, none, however, which need be considered insuperable. The kings of the 13th dynasty would accordingly be restricted to the period between the close of the 12th dynasty (*ca.* 1788 B.C.) and the end of that century.

The practical result of this interpretation is that the Hyksos may be considered a political force in Egypt for a century and a half. But the manner in which these foreigners gained control, beyond the fact that they molded their power out of Egypt's internal weakness and disorder, is unknown. Inference is our most important tool. In this con-

¹⁸ *Revue archéologique*, n.s. XI (1865) 169-90.

¹⁹ *Kémi* IV (1933) 191-215.

²⁰ So regarded by numerous writers including Meyer (*Geschichte* I 2 [1926] p. 316) and Hall (*Ancient History of the Near East* [1927] p. 219).

²¹ Probably San el-Hagar, being excavated at present by Pierre Montet; cf. his *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932)* (Paris, 1933) and *Kémi* V (1935/36). Gardiner has expressed the opinion that the true significance of the inscription cannot be grasped unless it be assumed that Tanis, Pi-Ra^cmesse, and Avaris are identical and is now convinced that such is the case (*JEA* XIX [1933] 122-28). Weill, on the other hand, is not convinced (*JEA* XXI [1935] 10-25).

²² *ZAS* LXV (1930) 85-89.

nection it is reasonable to believe that the state of the country as told by Ipuwer,²³ an Egyptian priest, is essentially that which one would have witnessed had one lived on the Nile during the years around 1700 B.C. This document is usually dated to the Middle Kingdom on the basis of language and paleography, and consequently reflects conditions of the First Intermediate period,²⁴ but taken generally it seems to portray a state of affairs necessary for the successful usurpation of power by any Asiatic people at any time. Ipuwer speaks of anarchy in the country; Asiatics had come into the Delta. In his own words: "Behold it (the Delta) is in the hands of(?) those who knew it not like those who knew it. The Asiatics are skilled in the arts of the Marshlands." Even outside the Delta the foreigners appear to have taken root.²⁵ The beginnings of Hyksos political control must have taken place in some such way. The Nile Valley on a number of occasions experienced the cycle constituting strength, dissolution, usurpation, and ultimate recovery.

Out of the little understood beginnings of Hyksos control in Egypt the 15th dynasty developed and lapsed, and the 16th dynasty took its place, according to the Manethonian tradition. Literary records of any value for the understanding of this point in history are entirely lacking. There are only numerous king-names waiting to be placed, and much archeological matter which will be probed later to discover what bearing it may have on the problem.

It is only when we come to the end of the northern 16th dynasty, at a time when the Theban 13th dynasty had for some time been displaced by the Theban 17th dynasty,²⁶ that we are again permitted a quick view of momentous events. The first document is a folktale, the well known Papyrus Sallier I,²⁷ which, although dated some four

²³ Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909).

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 18; Adolf Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, translated into English by A. M. Blackman (New York, 1927) p. 93.

²⁵ Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 9.

²⁶ Newberry, "The parentage of Queen Aah-Hetep" (*PSBA* XXIV [1902] 285-89), presents good grounds for believing that the 13th and 17th dynasties were closely related.

²⁷ British Museum, *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character* (London, 1841-60) Pls. I-IX; hieroglyphic text and notes in Gardner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" I [Bruxelles, 1932]) 85-89.

hundred years after the event, nevertheless seems to portray a historical disagreement between a Hyksos king, Apophis, and his Theban vassal, Sekenenre^c. On the surface the trouble lay in Apophis' contention that he, in the Delta, could not sleep at night because of the bellowing of the hippopotamuses in Thebes. About 500 miles lay between the two kings. The papyrus was written as an exercise, and the last extant sentence was left unfinished. The story also is far from complete as it stands, but on comparison with similar stories from the Near East it is likely that the wit of Sekenenre^c, or that of one of his counselors, was sufficiently potent to bring the Theban king off victorious.²⁸ It is possible that the tale went on to record the organized beginnings of resistance toward the Hyksos. The mummy of a king Sekenenre^c, bearing a number of terrible head wounds,²⁹ may be a different and significant type of document relating to this period.³⁰ While no precise date can be attached to the Sekenenre^c-Apophis duel of wits, it is probable that it took place about 1590 B.C.³¹ As to the probability of this date we note that Ahmose son of Ebana, who served Ahmose I (1580-1557 B.C.), had a father who had been a soldier of a Sekenenre^c.³² Sufficient time, too, must be allowed for the reign of Kamose. It is probable that Sekenenre^c, Kamose, and Ahmose I reigned successively and in that order.³³

Not long after the death of Sekenenre^c, Kamose fought the Hyksos, defeating them north of Shmun (Hermopolis) in Middle Egypt. Our information on this campaign comes from the obverse of a writing-

²⁸ Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 42 f. and literature there cited, especially Gaston Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (4. éd.; Paris, 1911) pp. xxvi f., where this view was proposed.

²⁹ G. Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo. Musée des antiquités égyptiennes, "Catalogue général" LIX [Le Caire, 1912]) pp. 1-6.

³⁰ Cf. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 224.

³¹ There may have been only one Sekenenre^c; cf. Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 43, n. 3, and literature there referred to.

³² *Ibid.* p. 49; *BAR* II, § 7.

³³ Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 48. For a delightful word picture of the union of the Theban and Hermopolitan royal houses, signalized by the marriage of Sekenenre^c's father with the long-lived Tetisheri, see H. E. Winlock in *Kings and Queens of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1924) pp. 44-50.

board known as Carnarvon Tablet I,³⁴ which Gardiner believed (in 1916) was written upon at most not more than fifty years after the events narrated.³⁵ This viewpoint was disputed, but now the existence of a commemorative stela, the very thing that Gardiner presupposed as the source of the inscription on the writing-board, seems to have been established through two fragments found during a recent investigation of the third pylon at Karnak. An incomplete cartouche of Kamose has been recognized by Lacau, who has identified the text with that of the Carnarvon tablet.³⁶

Returning to the text as we know it from the writing-board, we learn that Kamose wished to deliver Egypt from the grasp of the Asiatics who at the time were not only in the Delta but as far south as Middle Egypt. His wise men tried to dissuade him, reminding him that he already had agricultural and pastoral rights in the foreigners' territory. (This was perhaps a literary device intended to throw Kamose's subsequent action into greater and nobler relief.) He nevertheless marshaled his forces, sailed northward down the Nile, and disastrously defeated the Hyksos at Nefrusi (not identified, but a few miles north of Shmun). The story then stops abruptly, for the copyist after covering one side of his board turned to other matters. It is possible that as a result of this defeat the Hyksos were driven back to the Delta, where we find them early in the next reign, but this is only a guess.

Ahmose I (1580-1557 B.C.) followed Kamose, and, although both were of the same family, the new king marks the beginning of Manetho's 18th dynasty. From the point of view of Egyptian history Ahmose's position at the head of a dynasty was well deserved, for it was he who finally drove the hated Hyksos from the country. Our knowledge of this period comes not from royal annals, however, for as

³⁴ Published originally, with brief description and translation by F. Ll. Griffith, by the Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (London, 1912) pp. 36 f. and Pls. XXVII-XXVIII. It was exhaustively treated by Gardiner in *JEA* III (1916) 95-110. A revised translation by Gunn and Gardiner appears in *JEA* V 45 f. See also Newberry, "Notes on the Carnarvon Tablet No. I" (*PSBA* XXXV [1913] 117-22).

³⁵ *JEA* III 96 f.; see also Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 45.

³⁶ Henri Chevrier in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* XXXV (1935) 111. I am grateful to Dr. Charles F. Nims for calling my attention to this important discovery.

far as we know Ahmose never mentioned the Hyksos by name and only once referred vaguely to the events which we know from other sources had taken place. On a stela devoted largely to enumeration of gifts to the temple of Amon-Re^c at Karnak he stated: "His roaring (is) in the lands of the Fenkhu (probably Syrians)."³⁷ We must turn to the biographies of two of Ahmose's prominent soldiers for details of the expulsion.

Ahmose son of Ebana, who has already been mentioned (p. 11), entered the king's service early in the reign of Ahmose I and before his death left the story of his life on the walls of his tomb at el-Kab.³⁸ This story unfortunately lacks much desirable detail. In connection with numerous rewards for valor of which Ahmose was extremely proud, we learn almost incidentally that five attacks were made on the Hyksos, four of them at Avaris itself. Whether these attacks were made in the course of one year cannot be established from the available evidence. But at the conclusion of the fifth engagement Hyksos influence in Egypt had been entirely nullified; Avaris was a sacked city on the Delta flats. Ahmose I then followed the Hyksos across the northern Sinai Desert and besieged them for three years at Sharuhén in southern Palestine.³⁹ The town was finally captured, but beyond that bare fact we learn only of the soldier's personal spoil and his "gold of valor." The next items in the biography deal with Nubian campaigns, which indicate at least that the northern frontier was secure. There is no further reference to Asia until the time of Thutmose I, when Ahmose son of Ebana, then an old man, led the army of his majesty into Naharin.

The campaign which Ahmose I carried on against the Hyksos did not stop with the fall of Sharuhén, however. We have already seen that the king himself referred to the fear in which he was held "in the

³⁷ *Urk.* IV 18:6; see also Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 52.

³⁸ For the most recent translation of the text see Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 48-53.

³⁹ Sharuhén was a town in the tribe of Simeon (Josh. 19:6). Although not definitely located, it is probable that it is to be identified with the present Tell el-Fara, known to have had a strong Hyksos establishment; cf. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (2d ed.; New York, 1933) p. 53 and nn. 82-84. Sharuhén was earlier identified with Tell el-Shari'ah, some 15 miles north-east of Tell el-Fara. For excavation reports see Petrie, *Beth-Pelet* I (London, 1930), and Eann MacDonald, J. L. Starkey, and Lankester Harding, *Beth-Pelet* II (London, 1932).

lands of the Fenkhu." Ahmose-pen-Nekhet, another long-lived soldier who left his biography on the walls of his tomb at el-Kab, refers to an expedition to Djahi.⁴⁰ This is usually considered to have been Phoenicia, but neither Fenkhu nor Djahi have very specific geographic boundaries in the minds of present-day investigators, if indeed they were at all specific in the minds of the ancients. It seems certain, however, that they were north of Sharuh.

These meager references bring to a close the known written sources for the political history of the Hyksos up to the time of their expulsion from Egypt. Later kings, however, referred to that unhappy period when the foreigners were in the land. Such a reference seems to have been made by Thutmose I on a stela found at Abydos. On it he says: "I have made the boundaries of Egypt (to extend) to that which the sun encircles; I have caused to be victorious those who were in fear; I have expelled evil from it; I have caused Egypt to be supreme, every land her slaves."⁴¹ The Hyksos are not specifically mentioned, but there can be little doubt that they were in the mind of the author of this text.⁴²

Some years later Hatshepsut ordered that an inscription be carved over the entrance of the cliff temple at Beni Hasan known as the Speos Artemidos. The dedicatory portion reads as follows: "I have restored what was ruined, and have raised up what was neglected previously(?), (at the time) when Aamu were in the midst of Avaris of the Northland, and strangers in the midst of them overturned what had been made. They ruled without Rē, no one(?) acting according to the divine command, down to My Majesty."⁴³

While no one doubts that the Hyksos were no longer a factor in Egypt after the beginning of the 18th dynasty, it has taken considerable spade work, literally to some extent, to arrive at the convic-

⁴⁰ *Urk.* IV 35:17; *BAR* II, § 20.

⁴¹ *Urk.* IV 102:11-15.

⁴² Sethe in *ZAS* XLVII (1910) 73 f. was the first to so interpret this passage.

⁴³ Translation by Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 55. For text see *Urk.* IV 390:5-11. The introductory account of the first campaign in the annals of Thutmose III (*Urk.* IV 647:12-648:7) has been reconstructed with reference to the Hyksos by Sethe in *ZAS* XLVII 74-84; slight modifications appear in Harold H. Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo* (Chicago, 1913) pp. 4 f. Inasmuch as the passage is greatly damaged and what remains is open to interpretation, it seems best not to use it as basic evidence (Gunn and Gardiner in *JEA* V 54, n. 2).

tion that the Hyksos remained as Hyksos in Palestine and Syria until the time of Thutmose III (*ca.* 1479–1447 B.C.) and perhaps to that of his son Amenhotep II (*ca.* 1448–1420 B.C.). Breasted was the first to realize this,⁴⁴ basing his conclusions on a keen common-sense view of early 18th dynasty conditions in western Asia. He contended that it was not until the wars of Thutmose III⁴⁵ that the last nucleus of Hyksos power was destroyed.

Sethe was another who came early to the same conclusion, his opinion being based on a title assumed by both Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. The epithet in question is *ḥwī ḥkꜣw ḥꜣšw.t phw šw*, “smiter of the Hyksos who had attacked him.”⁴⁶

To what extent excavation in Palestine tends to support these views will be seen later (chap. v).

Before leaving the Hyksos as we know them from written sources it may be well to investigate briefly the evidence for the geographic extent of their occupation of Egypt. Manetho implies that the first Hyksos conquered the entire country, but naturally we wish for corroboration. Without question the Delta was theirs, and in the latter part of the 17th dynasty their occupation extended as far south as Middle Egypt, as we know from Carnarvon Tablet I (see p. 12). Whether the Hyksos ever occupied the country south of Middle Egypt cannot properly be answered at present, in spite of the presence in southern Egypt of Hyksos monuments such as those of Khyan⁴⁷ and ‘Auserre^c-Apophis,⁴⁸ apparently two of the great kings of the period.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *History of Egypt* (1905) p. 220.

⁴⁵ The Misphragmuthosis of Manetho according to Breasted, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ ZAS XLVII 84 f. The group *ḥkꜣw ḥꜣšw.t* can be translated differently, but Sethe pointed out that the word *ḥwī*, so far as he was able to see, was invariably used with lands and people and but seldom with princes of foreign lands (*ibid.* p. 86). Sethe received additional support for his translation in an inscription of Amenhotep II found at el-‘Amadah. In it the Hyksos and the princes of Retenu are clearly distinguished, *ḥkꜣw ḥꜣšw.t wrw nw rtnw* (*ibid.* p. 85).

⁴⁷ Granite block from Gebelein (G. Daressy in *Recueil de travaux relatifs* XVI [1894] 42, No. LXXXVIII).

⁴⁸ Limestone lintel from Gebelein (*ibid.* XIV [1893] 26, No. XXX).

⁴⁹ Newberry, in *PSBA* XXXV 119 f., suggests that the Hyksos never occupied Egypt south of Cusae. He bases his conclusion on lack of real evidence from southern Egypt, Carnarvon Tablet I, and the Speos Artemidos inscription, from which it appears that Hatshepsut found no need to restore temples south of the one at Cusae.

Hall has argued that, since Aswan granite was used in the works of the same Apophis in the Delta, it follows that the Hyksos at that time controlled the whole country as far as the First Cataract.⁵⁰ The weakness of this argument is apparent. One could as easily conclude that Carrara marble found outside of Italy indicates that Italy is a subject nation. Carnarvon Tablet I reveals that Kamose had certain rights in northern Egypt. A reciprocal agreement, or trade alone, could account for the appearance of southern stone in the north.

There are, however, some indications that certain Hyksos kings possessed power that could not have been denied in the south. Khyan, for instance, aside from calling himself "ruler of foreign countries," bore the name *inḳ idbw*, "embracer of lands."⁵¹ This is impressive indeed, but is it good evidence as it stands?⁵² Certain 17th dynasty kings who we know did not rule the Hyksos Delta used titles, such as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" and "Lord of the Two Lands," which would indicate that they were sovereigns over the entire land, a practice hardly justified under the circumstances.⁵³

On the other hand, it is quite likely that almost from the beginning of Hyksos domination in the Delta, and probably through most of the period, the rest of the country ruled itself by consent of the invaders. Contemporary evidence of this nature is probable, as we have seen, for the end of the 17th dynasty (Sekeneneṛ). But we have no convincing evidence for the beginning and intervening periods, and until such is found it cannot be assumed that the Hyksos held the territory around Thebes or the country to the south. The most that need be assumed is that the south paid heavy tribute to its Delta overlords until, tiring of the practice and growing gradually stronger, it finally overthrew the intruders and drove them out of Egypt.

⁵⁰ *History of the Near East* (1927) p. 223.

⁵¹ See Edouard Naville, *Bubastis* (London, 1891) Pls. XII and XXXV A.

⁵² An alabastron lid inscribed with the name of Khyan which was found at Knossus (Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos* I [London, 1921] 419-21 and Fig. 304 b) and a lion from Baghdad (Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Égypte* II 135) need be no more relevant to the question than a scarab of an Egyptian king found in Greece or South Russia would be.

⁵³ See e.g. various Sekenenreṛ inscriptions—on a scribal palette, a door lintel, a statue, and a coffin—in which the king was designated as either "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" or "Lord of the Two Lands" (Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Égypte* II 157, 159, and 161). These inscriptions, found on contemporary objects, are of course more pertinent to the question than had they appeared only in the Turin Papyrus or other later king lists.

III

THE HYKSOS FROM ARCHEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Archeology does not produce the kind of information that is found in documents unless, and that is quite another matter, documents are found in the course of excavation. The great mass of archeological material is nontextual. Literature deals with ideas, events, and personalities; archeology with things more concrete. But at times these very things speak as no documents can and in fact have increased many fold our knowledge of the Hyksos. The one supplements the other, and neither would be as vivid without the other.

While new Hyksos materials may come to light at any time, the archeological framework for the period may be considered established.¹ A brief and very inadequate statement of the procedure necessary for this achievement might be that it involved the identification of materials made or used by the Hyksos. At first many difficulties presented themselves. Before some of the most typical Hyksos commodities, then unrecognized as such, were correctly placed they had been dated as late as the 10th century B.C. This error was soon corrected, largely through the aid of scarabs found in association, and the problem became one of studying developments within the Hyksos period. Great strides have been made in this connection in the past few years, and curiously enough it is not so much to Egypt as to Palestine that we owe such knowledge. This situation is to be ascribed largely to the fact that Palestine is an archeologically "poor" country. There are no magnificent temples or graves as there are in Egypt, so that the archeologist has had to reconstruct the history of the country from close inspection of the debris of long-buried towns. In consequence Hyksos archeological materials in Egypt may now be placed

¹ This is due largely to Albright, first through his careful excavations at Tell Bait Mirsim in Judea and second through his thorough application of comparative archeology; cf. his reports on "The excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim" (*AASOR* XII [1932] and XIII 55-127). Albright's work of course could not have been as completely satisfactory had it not been for previous observations by such men as Père Vincent and Clarence S. Fisher.

with an assurance previously impossible.² Rapid progress is being made in Syria, but for the present the only sure yardstick for the Hyksos period in Syria and Egypt is to be found in the materials uncovered stratigraphically in Palestine.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the part that potsherds have played in the development of sound chronologies. Once the pottery of the Hyksos age³ was established it was possible to learn of other aspects of Hyksos culture. Metal implements, for instance, which habitually occurred with Hyksos pottery could reasonably be considered as Hyksos also. In fact all aspects of a town could be studied from the point of view of Hyksos life, habits, and characteristics.

While there are numerous pottery forms typical of the Hyksos period in Palestine, not all of them concern us here. For our purpose it will suffice to mention a few which are Hyksos products par excellence. The best known is the so-called "Tell el-Yahudiyyah" type,⁴ named from an important Hyksos site in the Delta, where it was found in abundance. It is piriform in shape, with a long constricted neck. The handle, which is characteristically double (i.e., figure 8 in cross-section), extends from the shoulder to the rim. The base is often finished with a button effect, and the polished surface is usually deep black or bright orange. If black, the surface is often punctured in various designs which are filled with a white pigment. Two other pottery types characteristic of the Hyksos are a relatively large jar with handles at the shoulder⁵ and a small jug of neat appearance with a pointed base.⁶ It is readily seen that such types, once they were recognized as Hyksos products, became an invaluable aid in the detection of the Hyksos occupation of a site.

² That Palestine has contributed more to the archeological study of the Hyksos than Egypt is due also to the fact that excavation is rendered difficult in the Delta because of the present height of ground water. The Delta is a priori a territory where one would expect to find Hyksos influence strongly impressed.

³ Details are recorded in excavation reports from many sites. For summaries see Carl Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas I* (Leipzig, 1933) 45-48; *OIP* XXXIII 150-54; *SAOC* No. 17.

⁴ See e.g. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (London, 1906) Pl. VIII 36 and 38. Examples have been found as far north as the neighborhood of Aleppo. They are now in the Aleppo Museum.

⁵ E.g. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza II* (London, 1932) Pl. XXXII 43 C 4.

⁶ E.g. *OIP* XXXIII, Pl. 23:16.

Some time after the first Hyksos had established themselves in Palestine another movement made itself felt. There are no literary records from Palestine to indicate who the new people might have been; yet their two-color pottery, often utilizing bird, tree, or fish motifs,⁷ and distinctive cylinder seals,⁸ when compared with similar material from northern Mesopotamia, strongly suggest that they were Hurrian. Stated in another way, the new elements in Palestine are comparable to materials used by a northern Mesopotamian people who spoke a Hurrian tongue.⁹ It is in this sense that the term "Hurrian" is here used, although the name will be justified on other grounds (pp. 38-40).¹⁰

These new elements, while "Hurrian," must also be regarded as Hyksos, inasmuch as the basic cultural foundation established by the first Hyksos continued alongside them and since the new cultural expression appeared in Egypt some time before the Hyksos were driven from that country.¹¹ As far as Palestine alone is concerned, it is thus clear that there were two related cultural developments during the Hyksos occupation of the land.

None of the pottery which has been mentioned was imported in the strict sense. Some of the ideas, of course, may have been. This seems certain for the "Hurrian" decorative development on pots. But the vessels themselves were certainly made in the country, as shown by their characteristic local fabric. In view of the great amount of "Hurrian" pottery that has been found it seems safe to believe that a migration was the direct cause. There are, on the other hand, some definite importations discernible in the debris of Hyksos ruins and in burials of the period. These importations are principally Cypriote, and Hyksos vessels found in Cyprus suggest reciprocal trade between

⁷ See e.g. *ibid.* Pls. 46:14-16 and 47:14-17.

⁸ Of Kirkuk-Nuzi type; see *ibid.* pp. 182-84 for comparison of seal designs from Nuzi and Megiddo.

⁹ See Speiser in the *Museum Journal* XXIII (Philadelphia, 1932-33) 273-76.

¹⁰ See Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 13-54 for a full presentation of the matter.

¹¹ For occurrences in Egypt of "Hurrian" pottery in pre-18th dynasty contexts see W. M. F. Petrie and Guy Brunton, *Sedment* (London, 1924) I, Pl. XLV 67-68 and 71; Georg Möller, *Die archäologischen Ergebnisse des vorgeschichtlichen Gräberfeldes von Abusir el-Meleq*, bearbeitet von Alexander Scharff (*WVDOG* XLIX [1926]) Pl. 70:484-85; Brunton, *Qau and Badari* III (London, 1930) Pl. XVI 55 P and R.

the two countries.¹² Trade was clearly not at a standstill during the Hyksos period. There were probably more active seaports on the eastern Mediterranean shore at that time than there are today.

The Hyksos were active in the field of metallurgy also. Accumulating analyses of metals from Palestine tend to show that copper was the principal metal in use in pre-Hyksos times. But with the coming of the new people we may discern the beginning of bronze usage.¹³ The first appearance of bronze in any community has always had a revolutionary effect. The tin content added to copper, which is the primary constituent in the bronze alloy, immediately allows for technological improvements. The alloy makes a clean cast possible and yields a harder and more useful metal at a lower melting point.¹⁴ Another advantage of the alloy is that it can be manipulated in a closed mold with the result that new forms tend to develop. The Hyksos brought this technological innovation well developed into the country, and it is probable that its advantages were apparent in numerous ways in their dealings with countries not yet acquainted with bronze, notably Egypt.

It will not be necessary here to treat specific metal forms;¹⁵ some of these will be noted later in connection with specific problems (see p. 30). For the present it may be stressed that there are certain types, including weapons and jewelry, which seem to have been characteristic of the Hyksos period. The same is true for such objects as scarabs, "alabaster" vessels, bone inlays and other materials found in Hyksos towns or burials.

The type of town defense most characteristic of the Hyksos was a sloping revetment or rampart above which a town wall itself was often

¹² Diedrich Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1924) p. 159 and Fig. 158; A. S. Murray, A. H. Smith, and H. B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London, 1900) Fig. 9. For Cypriote wares in Hyksos Palestine see *OIP* XXXIII 151 and 153 f.

¹³ For analyses of metals found at Megiddo see *OIP* XXXIII 161. A fragment of an Egyptian relief showing tribute-bearers carrying ingots of a white metal called *dhty* has been attributed to the 11th dynasty by Evans (*Palace of Minos* II [London, 1928] 176-78). *Wb.* translates the word (*dhtj*) as "lead," but Evans has taken it to indicate tin (*op. cit.* p. 177, n. 3).

¹⁴ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials & Industries* (2d ed. rev.; London, 1934) pp. 174 f.

¹⁵ For a résumé of those found at Megiddo see *OIP* XXXIII 163-77.

built. For added protection a moat or fosse was frequently dug. The materials which went into the construction of the revetment were for the most part products of the environs such as sand, mud, mud brick, stone, and plaster. Plans of Hyksos towns seem to have been dictated to some extent by the formation of the ground. If the new people decided to build on already existing oval or irregularly shaped tells, in order perhaps to be near a source of water or to utilize the advantages of height, they usually built their walls to correspond to existing irregularities.¹⁶ This seems natural enough, and yet one of the striking features of some Hyksos fortifications (by no means a majority) is that they tended to be rectangular or even square where the ground contour permitted. Attention has often been called to the fact that the sides or corners of these structures tend to face the cardinal points. Such fortifications have been uncovered in Lower Egypt, Palestine, and Syria and in most cases can now be identified with the Hyksos. The best known rectangular camp and the one first recognized as Hyksos was at Tell el-Yahudiyyah in the Delta.¹⁷ The structure was about 1100 feet square on the inside, with rounded corners. An embankment of sand was faced with plaster and properly braced on the inside by a retaining wall. At its base it was between 130 and 200 feet wide; at the top between 80 and 140 feet. The length of the slope was from 50 to 70 feet, and the embankment sloped at an average angle of about 40°. No wall seems to have surmounted the revetment,

¹⁶ Schumacher's "mud-brick" wall at Megiddo has now been identified as Hyksos. His plan of the excavations (*Tell el-Mutesellim* I [Leipzig, 1908] Pl. II) shows clearly that wherever necessary the wall curved to inclose the periphery of the flat-topped hill. Other sites where this system seems to have been the rule are Tell Bait Mirsim (Albright, *AASOR* XII 19; in *BASOR* No. 47 [Oct., 1932] pp. 8 f.; *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* [2d ed.] p. 86), Tell el-Duwair (J. L. Starkey in *PEFQS*, 1934, pp. 167-70), Jericho (John Garstang in *PEFQS*, 1930, Pls. IV and VI; *ibid.* 1931, pp. 187-90), Tell Ta'annak (Ernst Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, "Denkschriften" L 4 [1904] plan following Pl. XIII), Tell el-'Ajul (Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* II 1, 3, and 13 and Pls. XLIV and LI), Tell el-Fara (Petrie, *Beth-Pelet* I 16 and Pl. XIII), Ascalon (Garstang, *PEFQS*, 1922, pp. 112 f., and *Joshua-Judges* [London, 1931] p. 359), Tell el-Hasi (F. J. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities* [New York and London, 1894] p. 18). Little is yet known about the system of fortification at Tell Kisan in the Plain of Acre, which has been partially excavated by Alan Rowe (Palestine Department of Antiquities, *Quarterly* V [1936] 208).

¹⁷ Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pls. II-IV and pp. 3-10.

it being high enough in itself. A long sloping runway led to a fortified gate on top of the embankment.

Eleven miles to the south, at Heliopolis, a similar but less elaborate structure was found.¹⁸ It was square with rounded corners, and there was apparently no entrance on the road level.

In Palestine two sites¹⁹ have generally rectangular camps, and in Syria a number are known, the most important being at el-Mishrifé (ancient Qatna).²⁰ It is of tremendous size, being over six times as large as that at Tell el-Yahudiyyah. Practically all Hyksos sites have revealed the presence of a revetment in some form or other.

In the state of our present knowledge it appears that the revetment and the rectangular camp are conceptions peculiarly Hyksos when they are met in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, proved Hyksos territories. Judged from that standpoint alone they imply a warlike people, which on other grounds we have reason to believe the Hyksos at times were. These new concepts, and all others which we meet in the Hyksos milieu, naturally cause one to consider questions of origin,

¹⁸ W. M. F. Petrie and Ernest Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa* (London, 1915) Pls. I-III and pp. 3 f. Petrie here refers to other "great walled enclosures without any original entrance" which he had observed in the Delta and also in Middle Egypt.

¹⁹ Hazor (Garstang in *AAA* XIV [1927] 35-42 and *Joshua-Judges*, pp. 381-83) and Shechem (modern Balatah) (Gabriel Welter in *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 1932, cols. 294-96). Hazor measures about 1000 × 500-600 yards, has rounded corners, and was protected in part "by a revetment of stout megalithic masonry." Two deep wadies provided additional natural protection. The corners are oriented roughly to the points of the compass. Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 31, n. 67, on Olmstead's suggestion, points to the fact that the name Hazor is derived from a root designating "inclosures." Shechem was surrounded during the Hyksos period by a revetment over 5 yards high. It rested upon a base of large quarry stone and was composed of beaten loam inset on the surface with broken stones. The entrance was probably to the north. Tell el-Kadi (Dan) in Upper Galilee may be another site with a roughly rectangular rampart (Albright in *JPOS* XV [1935] 224).

²⁰ Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna* (Paris, 1935) pp. 40-42 and Pls. I-II. Other Syrian sites of the same type are Tell Safinat Nuh, near Homs (S. Ronzevalle in Beyrouth, Université Saint-Joseph, *Mélanges de la faculté orientale* VII [1914-21] 109-26) and Masin, near Hamah (Du Mesnil du Buisson in *Berytus* II [1935] 123-33 and Pls. XLVI-XLVII). At Carchemish the plan is not rectangular, but earthworks formed part of the fortification of the inner town (C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish* II [London, 1921] 43 and Pl. 3). Traces of an inclosing rampart have been observed at Kadesh (Albright in *JPOS* XV 224).

and an attempt will be made to answer some of these queries (chap. vi).

Just as it is plausible to believe that much of the success of the Hyksos was due to their superior weapons and fortifications, so it may be presumed that horses and chariots played a large part in their fortunes. The Hyksos have long been regarded as having introduced these important aspects of civilization to Egypt, the main evidence having been philological.²¹ Now archeology comes forward with the same story. The excavations of Sir Flinders Petrie at Tell el-'Ajul in southern Palestine have produced a wealth of evidence concerning the horse as a Hyksos animal. There the horse figured not only as a harness animal but in foundation deposits and as an important aspect of human burials.²²

Although a few relatively early instances of horseback riding are known, the horse in the Near East was essentially a chariot beast until late historic times. Reasons for this are not clear, but it is likely that the circumstances under which the horse was introduced regulated the method of use. The small size of the horse is not an altogether satisfactory explanation why horses were not ridden more often than they appear to have been. The ass was even smaller and had been ridden in Egypt long before the Hyksos period.

Only a few features of the Hyksos as they are known from archeology have been mentioned. In reviewing their life as reconstructed on the basis of recently uncovered towns and cemeteries it becomes clear that they were a highly civilized people, more advanced in some respects than their older neighbors on the Nile. Their warlike attributes are apparent in much of the material that has thus far come to notice, but that they should be regarded as having remained a horde, in its commonly accepted sense, for long after their arrival at the Mediterranean seems not warranted by the evidence. On the contrary, there are numerous signs of a well organized existence in a social sense. Cities were properly built, and trades flourished within them. The potter was an important member of the community, and into his

²¹ The earliest reference to the horse in an Egyptian text may be in Carnarvon Tablet I rev. 16 (*htrw*); cf. Gardiner in *JEA* III 107.

²² Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* I (London, 1931) 4 f. and Pls. VIII-IX and LVII; II 5 and 14; IV (London, 1934) 16 and Pls. XXIII and XXXV (mouth-bit).

fine vessels no doubt went the produce of the fertile fields. The metal smith and jeweler practiced their respective arts in an exceedingly skilful manner. Never before had the southeastern Mediterranean shores witnessed such perfection in the field of metallurgy, and indeed such was not possible before the development of alloys. Trading between communities was doubtless a daily affair, although more difficult to prove than commerce between more distant regions. Cyprus, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria carried on diverse and extensive trade throughout the Hyksos period. The entire length of the Syrian and Palestinian coast was dotted with seaports which were open to traffic. Cypriote luxury wares entering at these ports were dispersed inland; Hyksos products were shipped to Cyprus. These and other indications make it clear that there was a quality and stability to Hyksos life not accorded it by all historians. Much that the Hyksos accomplished could never have happened in an atmosphere of constant warfare and must be attributed to a clever people who, once they were settled, adopted the ways of the civilized world about them.

IV

EVIDENCE OF THE HYKSOS AT THE TIME
OF THE 12TH DYNASTY

The establishment of a relative chronology, no matter how secure, is but the first step in the use of archeological materials. Complete significance cannot be approached until the sequence is dated in some way and considered with reference to surrounding territories. We have here to deal with a matter quite apart from the probable limits of the Hyksos political occupation of Egypt, which according to Egyptian texts appears to have been between about 1730 and 1580 B.C. If we consider the direction of the Hyksos movement, it is clear that the invaders were settled in Syria and Palestine before they occupied Egypt. The question is, how much sooner? The answer should concern itself with the nature of the incursion, whether it was a rapid and devastating advance or whether it moved gradually but with increasing power and effect.

The path of such an inquiry is replete with pitfalls requiring close attention. We suppose in the first place that the pottery, fortifications, metal forms, and other materials mentioned in chapter iii are true indicators of the Hyksos. We have assumed that all Tell el-Yahudiyyah pottery and all other pottery and objects habitually and only associated with it are to be linked to the Hyksos. We regard the new culture of the Middle Bronze period, which differs almost totally from the cultural tradition of the preceding Early Bronze Age, as due to the new people, the Hyksos. If this proposition is accepted we shall be at liberty to try to date Hyksos remains as they are found in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

When first found by archeologists in Egypt Tell el-Yahudiyyah type vessels (then differently named) were considered as 12th and 13th dynasty products. It was not then understood that they were to be associated with the Hyksos. But when this fact was later recognized it was accordingly assumed that these vessels could not be contemporary with the 12th and 13th dynasties, since the Hyksos regime

followed the decline of the Middle Kingdom. Political and cultural influences were held to be largely synchronous. Peet, for instance, made the following statement on the subject of Tell el-Yahudiyyah wares: "With regard to the date of these incised wares there is little difficulty. I know of no example dating from the XIIth dynasty."¹ This reaction was perfectly natural in view of the knowledge of the time. But since Peet wrote more evidence has become available in the light of which older material may be re-examined. In the following pages evidence relevant to the question from sites spread between Nubia and Syria will be presented:

1. In Nubia, at Buhen, many Tell el-Yahudiyyah type vessels have been found. The excavators, Randall-MacIver and Woolley, stated their awareness of the fact that Tell el-Yahudiyyah pots had been considered characteristic of the Hyksos period in Egypt yet could not avoid dating the earliest specimens of that class at Buhen to the 12th dynasty. Two objects from the early cemetery, in which this type of pottery was found, were inscribed with the prenomen of Amenemhet III (1849-1801 B.C.), and nothing from the burials in question called for a date later than the 12th dynasty.²

2. At Haragah, a site near the Fayyum, black Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware with white-filled incisions came from Cemetery B, which consisted of shaft tombs, one being dated to the time of Sesostri III (1887-1849 B.C.).³ Other specimens were found in the sherd mounds attributed to Sesostri II (1906-1887 B.C.). Engelbach said: "It seems likely that the majority of examples came down with the artisan class who were engaged on the construction of the pyramid of Senusert II at Lahun."⁴

3. Lisht, at the mouth of the Fayyum, has produced numbers of pieces of the Tell el-Yahudiyyah class including a jug with a divided

¹ *The Cemeteries of Abydos II* (London, 1914) 68.

² D. Randall-MacIver and C. Leonard Woolley, *Buhen* (Philadelphia, 1911) pp. 133 f.; for dating of cemetery see pp. 185 f.; illustrations of pottery on Pls. 49, Tombs K 9-10, and 92.

³ R. Engelbach, *Harageh* (London, 1923) p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 10. On p. 13 reference is made to another pot (Pl. XLI 99 d) found in an apparently late 12th dynasty context. On p. 17 a fragment of the same type (Pl. X 15) is attributed to the 11th dynasty. This example stands alone as evidence for such an early date and naturally requires corroboration.

shoulder handle. The vessel was decorated with painted birds and fish. From the same burial shaft, which is described as dating from the 12th dynasty, came "a number of black incised handled vases of the Kahun (i.e., Tell el-Yahudiyyah) type."⁵ Mr. Ambrose Lansing, speaking of subsequent work at the same site, gives support to the above datings by stating that "a piece of the same ware was found in a more or less isolated Twelfth Dynasty pit whose contents included nothing except Twelfth Dynasty material—none, however, datable to a particular reign." It should be added that this was the only piece coming to Mr. Lansing's direct attention that could be definitely dated as early as the 12th dynasty. Other pieces, while possibly of that date, could equally well have been of the Intermediate period.⁶

4. Kahun, at the mouth of the Fayyum, a town which came into existence at the time of the erection of Sesostri II's near-by pyramid, has yielded quite a number of Syro-Palestinian pottery forms. Black Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware according to Petrie was "found associated with objects of the XIIth or XIIIth dynasty."⁷ But a further statement, "This pottery is unknown in Egypt hitherto in any period but the XIIth and XIIIth dynasties,"⁸ warns us that the material from Kahun must be critically examined, since it became known only later (largely through Petrie's own observations) that the Tell el-Yahudiyyah class was one of the most characteristic of Hyksos products.⁹

A second excavation took place at Kahun in 1889/90, and again fragments of this class were found and attributed to the 12th-13th dynasties;¹⁰ but these likewise cannot be checked satisfactorily. For-

⁵ A. C. Mace in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin* XVI (1921) Nov., Part II, pp. 17 f. and Fig. 18.

⁶ Letter of Dec. 10, 1936.

⁷ Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (London, 1890) p. 25; see also Pl. XXVII 199-202. The designation of the site as Kahun is due to Petrie.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 42.

⁹ Hermann Junker, *Der nubische Ursprung der sogenannten Tell el-Jahudiyye-Vasen* (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Klasse, "Sitzungsberichte" CXCVIII, 3. Abhandlung [1921]) p. 83, stated that there was no basis for considering this ware at Kahun as dating to the 12th dynasty and that it could be much later. But there seems to be no evidence against its being 12th dynasty.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1891) Pl. I 17 and 20-21 and p. 10.

tunately, however, another pottery type¹¹ occurred which is related to a typical Hyksos form already referred to (p. 18, n. 6) and which in this case seems to be attributable to the time of Sesostris II (1906–1887 B.C.).¹² The interpretation of this evidence as having a bearing on the appearance of Hyksos in Egypt might call for Syro-Palestinian workmen on the pyramid or other building and irrigation projects in the neighborhood. The early date apparently required by some of the Syro-Palestinian Kahun pottery finds additional support in recent evidence from Byblos on the Syrian coast.

5. From Tombs I and II at Byblos, which to all appearances are of the time of Amenemhet III and Amenemhet IV (1849–1792 B.C.),¹³ come numerous examples of two pottery types¹⁴ which are clearly related to Hyksos forms elsewhere and which have been briefly referred to (see p. 18, nn. 5–6). Recent excavation at Byblos has revealed the existence of still another type of pottery related to the Hyksos repertoire (comparable to Tell Bait Mirsim G–F painted ware¹⁵) in a context earlier than that of Tombs I and II.¹⁶ It is impossible at present, from the Byblos evidence, to judge how much earlier, but that it belongs to a time no later than the 19th century seems assured because of the dates for Tombs I and II. None of this evidence need be construed to mean that the Hyksos occupied Byblos at the time, although there may have been Hyksos individuals in the city. What it appears definitely to do is to establish the Hyksos as contemporaries of Byblos of the time.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Pl. I 11. For Asiatic parallels, most of which are considered to be of 12th dynasty date, see F. A. C. Schaeffer in *Syria* XIII (1932) Fig. 12:18 and Pl. XII 3, bottom row, second and fifth, and in *Syria* XVII (1936) Fig. 18 P; Pierre Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1928–29) Pls. CXXIV, bottom row, middle, and CXLVII, top row. In fact with only a generalized picture of Hyksos ceramics in mind, one could easily select the Kahun examples of this class as typifying certain peculiar Hyksos ceramic traits.

¹² Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pp. 9 f.

¹³ Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, pp. 155–59. From Tomb I came an obsidian vase bearing the prenomen of Amenemhet III. Tomb II yielded an obsidian coffer with the prenomen of Amenemhet IV.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Pls. CXVI 791 and 800 and CXVIII 791 and 800. Père Vincent (*Revue biblique* XX [1923] 566–68 and Pl. VIII) and René Dussaud (*Journal des savants*, n.s. XX [1922] 178) have compared some of the Byblos pottery to Hyksos specimens from Gezer.

¹⁵ See *AASOR* XIII 69–71. ¹⁶ Letter from Professor Albright, Nov. 14, 1936.

The writer's interpretation of the Mirsim G-F painted ware as Hyksos is based in part on the contemporaneity of this ware at Mirsim with the earliest Tell el-Yahudiyyah type vessels from that site.¹⁷ Apparent corroboration of this point of view is to be found in recent excavation at Tell Kisan in the Plain of Acre, where Rowe found that this type of painted pottery was the most recent to be observed in the filling of the Hyksos embankment.¹⁸ The logic of the situation lies in the assumption that the latest materials found in a structure such as an embankment, which to some extent is constructed of scooped-up earth and refuse lying near by, will date the structure. A wall in which is found well sealed a coin of Hadrian will not be earlier than the time of Hadrian. The wall of course could belong to any later time on the evidence given. A somewhat different situation exists in the case of an embankment, due to its method of construction. Contemporary potsherds could not well have been excluded if local earth was used.

Only those deposits which seemed most reliably dated, and especially those in which were found datable materials aside from the pottery in question, have been cited as the basis of our argument. There remains much in the archeological literature that has been dated by excavators to the 12th-13th dynasties but which cannot be properly checked.¹⁹

Our interpretation of the evidence may be disputed, but if the premise is accepted that definite and characteristic material traits of the Hyksos also imply the presence of Hyksos when we first meet those

¹⁷ According to Albright in *AASOR* XIII 79 the latter came into use in G-F, but in a private communication Professor Albright states that this type was found definitely in Stratum G. There is now a very full stratification for what we regard as the Hyksos period at Megiddo (see *SAOC* No. 17, Strata XV-IX). These materials indicate definitely that Hyksos-like pottery was introduced to the site at a time when the last Early Bronze tradition (folded ledge handles etc.) still prevailed. The excavators date this episode to the latter part of the 20th century, or about two centuries before the beginning of Hyksos political control in Egypt. The sharp break between the two cultures involved finds no parallel in northern Palestine until the collapse of Canaanite culture and the introduction of that of the Hebrews about 1050 B.C.

¹⁸ Communication from Professor Albright; see also Albright, *AASOR* XVII (1938) 24.

¹⁹ See e.g. Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el Yahûdiyyeh* (Egypt Exploration Fund, "Seventh Memoir" [London, 1890] pp. 33-74) p. 56 and Pl. XIX, for Khataanah material; G. A. Wainwright, *Balabish* (London, 1920) p. 66, esp. n. 5.

specific traits, then it will be difficult to interpret otherwise the cases we have just noticed. There is added assurance in the position taken in the fact that the evidence has come from a number of sites lying in an extended geographic area.²⁰

Thus far the entire case has been based on pottery, but a similar picture might develop could we treat objects of other materials such as gold, bronze, and bone with equal confidence. Comparative archeology has not reached the point where small objects can be properly used, and we shall content ourselves therefore with listing a few things which eventually may be of importance in the understanding of the culture of the eastern Mediterranean basin in the early part of the 2d millennium.

The investigation of foreign influences demonstrated by small objects of Middle Kingdom date in Egypt will doubtless be prosecuted with increased confidence and greater benefit after a corpus of Palestinian forms becomes established.²¹ Even now certain Asiatic weapon forms appear to have been introduced conceivably by the Hyksos to the southeastern Mediterranean during the Middle Kingdom period. Such are the "khopesh" scimitar, so called because it resembles an animal's foreleg,²² and a type of crescent-shaped dagger pommel such as that found in the tomb of Ita.²³ In an early 12th dynasty tomb painting at Beni Hasan²⁴ Asiatics wield socketed axes of a type found commonly in Syria.²⁵ The question of scroll or spiral ornamentation on scarabs, first used in Egypt in the 12th dynasty,²⁶ requires special

²⁰ On other grounds Weill has come to the conclusion that the incursion of Hyksos into Lower Egypt "will have begun immediately after the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, if not during that dynasty itself" (*JEA* XXI [1935] 23, n. 1; see also *ibid.* pp. 24 f. and Institut français d'archéologie orientale, *Bulletin* XXXII [1932] 8 and 40-44). The principal difficulty with Weill's position is that it was attained largely through a confusion of scarabs from Tell el-Fara with some from other collections which Petrie used for purposes of comparison.

²¹ A summary of objects found in Hyksos tombs at Megiddo with references to foreign contacts will be found in *OIP* XXXIII, Table V.

²² See Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Pls. XCIX-C.

²³ J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-1895* (Vienne, 1903) Pl. VI. Cf. *OIP* XXXIII, Pl. 149:2-3, for examples found in a Hyksos burial.

²⁴ Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (London, 1893) Pl. XLVII.

²⁵ See e.g. Dunand in *Syria* X (1929) Pl. XXXIX 1 and Schaeffer in *Syria* XIII (1932) Pl. XIII 4.

²⁶ Newberry, *Scarabs*, p. 81.

study. There have been exponents for an origin within Egypt²⁷ as well as without. If it is conceded that the spiral concept was borrowed by Egypt it will become necessary to consider Early Minoan art.²⁸ The role of the Hyksos in this matter, beyond the established fact that scrolls on scarabs were characteristic of the Hyksos²⁹ and passed out of use soon after their collapse, is an open question. Newberry and Garstang discussed the probability that some of the 12th dynasty jewelry found at Dahshur owed its character to foreign influences and believed that subsequent events have revealed the significance of those objects.³⁰ It would be venturesome to claim that all new elements in the culture of 12th dynasty Egypt imply a foreign hand, although there are indications that some of them do. No satisfactory investigation of such matters can be attempted until the entire cultural repertoire of surrounding territories is as well established as the sequence of pottery types.

The Hyksos and Kassite movements frequently have been linked as aspects of a much greater movement into the Near East early in the 2d millennium B.C. This point of view seems to require little support, yet it may be of some interest to call attention to known details of the "invasion" of Babylonia by the Kassites. In the diagram below is shown the relationship in years between Kassite and Hyksos development—the latter based on the viewpoint of this paper.

The earliest known appearance of the Kassites in Babylonia was during the reign of Hammurabi (1947–1905 B.C.).³¹ At that time they seem to have been peaceful dwellers in the land. At the death of Hammurabi the throne passed to his son, Samsuiluna, who in his ninth year repulsed Kassite raiders from the hills.³² Business records for the following century and a half mention Kassites as harvesters and

²⁷ G. A. R[eisner] and N. F. W[heeler] in Museum of Fine Arts, *Bulletin* XXVIII (1930) 54.

²⁸ See Evans, *The Palace of Minos* I, Figs. 76–77, 79, 80a, 81, and 86–87 for EM III examples.

²⁹ See e.g. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, Pl. XXI.

³⁰ *A Short History of Ancient Egypt* (3d ed.; London, 1911) pp. 63 f.

³¹ *The Cambridge Ancient History* I (2d ed.; Cambridge, 1928) 552. The dates are from Professor A. T. Olmstead's unpublished list.

³² See *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, hrsg. von Erich Ebeling und Bruno Meissner, II (Berlin und Leipzig, 1938) 183; *Cambridge Ancient History* I 554.

laborers.³³ Soon after the Hittite raid on Babylon the country came under control of the Kassite dynasty (1749 B.C.).³⁴ Details of the growth of Kassite power are lacking, yet a definite pattern seems discernible. Peaceful penetration followed repulsion and resulted in ultimate success.³⁵ It seems entirely reasonable a priori to presume that the Hyksos "invasion" of Egypt followed a similar pattern. Perhaps Manetho was not far from the truth when he said that the Hyksos took Egypt "without a battle."

HYKSOS		KASSITES
	Hammurabi (1947-1905 B.C.)	Laborers in Mesopotamia
Laborers in Egypt	Ca. 1900 B.C.	Kassite raiders repulsed
Laborers in Egypt		Laborers in Mesopotamia
	Ca. 1750 B.C.	Kassite dynasty
First Hyksos dynasty	Ca. 1730 B.C.	

On the other hand, Hyksos "dynastic" control in Palestine and Syria probably took place earlier than in Egypt, since the Hyksos represent a north-to-south movement at least along the Mediterranean coast. As to the state of Syria and Palestine during the Hyksos period, there is little reason to believe that they were any more a political unit then than they had been at the end of the 11th dynasty,³⁶ or were to be in the Thutmosid and 'Amarnah periods.³⁷

Should future excavation and its interpretation support the view that the Hyksos had, by about 1900 B.C., reached the stage in their cultural development where they were making products typical of their group as we know them later and that accordingly they were established in certain parts of Syria and Palestine, it will be necessary to

³³ A. Ungnad in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* VI, Heft 5 (1909) pp. 21-26.

³⁴ *Cambridge Ancient History* I 561-63. The date is from Professor Olmstead's unpublished list.

³⁵ This process is described and stressed as a factor in most "conquests" by George G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936) pp. 92 f.

³⁶ Kurt Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen," 1926, Nr. 5) pp. 43-59; Albright, *JPOS* VIII (1928) 223-56. The existence of many city-states is clearly indicated. Sinuhe, a couple of generations later, gives the same impression.

³⁷ *Annals* of Thutmose III and 'Amarnah letters. The fact may be noted also that Ahmose, the expeller of the Hyksos, referred in the plural to "the lands of the Fenkhu" (see p. 14).

consider the implications of 12th dynasty contacts with the neighboring Asiatic territory. It will mean that all such contacts after about 1900 B.C. must be suspected of having involved the Hyksos.³⁸ The problem is not simple. It cannot be said that all of Syro-Palestine was controlled by the Hyksos. Byblos, for instance, seems hardly to have been Hyksos before 1730 B.C. in spite of the presence of Hyksos pottery types.³⁹ Byblos was always more Egyptianized than the surrounding territory. We may presume, however, that Hyksos were in the vicinity and that some of their artisans and new-fashioned products were in general demand. It is also possible, as already noted, that Hyksos workers found a market for their labors in the pyramid town of Kahun. Of course, during the height of 12th dynasty power in Egypt, the Hyksos would have been little more than "peaceful intruders," as were the Kassites under Hammurabi. Some of them may have found their way into Egypt at the time of Ibsha, who is depicted in the tomb of the nomarch Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan.⁴⁰ The scene is dated to the sixth year of Sesostriis II (ca. 1900 B.C.) and portrays Ibsha⁴¹ and thirty-seven Aamu followers bringing kohl or eye paint. Syro-Pales-

³⁸ Most obvious is the invasion of Retenu by Sesostriis III; see Garstang, *El Ardbah* (London, 1901) Pls. IV-V, and *BAR* I, §§ 676-87. However, the question of Egyptian interests in Asia during the entire Middle Kingdom period should be reviewed. E.g. the late 11th dynasty proscription texts list Palestinian and Syrian cities in actual or suspected rebellion (Sethe, *op. cit.* pp. 43-59, and Albright in *JPOS* VIII 223-56), and Amenemhet I sent twenty ships of cedarwood to meet the Setetyu (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, Pl. XLIV). It is reported that 12th dynasty stone blocks found in 1936 by M. Chevrier in the third pylon at Karnak show Palestinian tribute-bearers with their towns named. Albright has long stressed the possibility that at times during the 12th dynasty Egypt was suzerain over Palestine and Syria; see esp. *JPOS* II (1922) 121; VIII 227; and XV (1935) 221. In the last he points to the fact that most of what is known of 12th dynasty relations between Nubia and Egypt has come from inscriptions found in Nubia. The possibility that similar inscriptions lie buried in Palestine and Syria has been greatly enhanced by the finding of many Egyptian objects.

³⁹ See Montet in *Kémi* I (1928) 90-93 for the relief of a prince of Byblos who reigned under Neferhotep I of the 13th dynasty (ca. 1740-1730 B.C.). This data is not incompatible in the least with our point of view.

⁴⁰ Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, Pls. XXX-XXXI and XXXVIII 2.

⁴¹ Who is labeled *ḥkꜣ ḥꜣš.t*. The possibility that the *ḥkꜣw ḥꜣšw.t* in Sinuhe (Aylward M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories* ["Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca" II (Bruxelles, 1932)] line B. 98) reflect the Hyksos has been suggested by A. Alt in *ZAS* LVIII (1923) 48-50 and A. Jirku in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* VI (1930) 386.

tinians may conceivably have entered the army of the king as mercenaries.⁴²

The fact that the Asiatic adversaries of Egypt were not referred to by the supposed original form of the name "Hyksos" can hardly be regarded as proof that the Hyksos were not in Palestine and Syria by the middle of the 12th dynasty. We have seen (p. 7) that the Hyksos themselves seem to have been called Aamu, Setetyu, and Mentyu Setet by contemporary Egyptians, terms which were also used with reference to "Asiatics" during the 12th dynasty.⁴³ This method of investigation seems incapable of proving anything specifically, except that it decidedly leaves open the question as to whether the Hyksos were in Palestine and Syria by 1900 B.C.

⁴² This suggestion, while a real possibility, finds no actual contemporary support.

⁴³ See *Wb*. It should not be overlooked that these terms were also used before the 12th dynasty.

V

THE LATE HYKSOS

The second great period of Hyksos development is exemplified by "Hurrian" characteristics (see pp. 19-20). Two-colored "Hurrian" pottery, known from stratified deposits in Palestine to have appeared later than Tell el-Yahudiyyah type pottery, which was a typical product of the first dynastic Hyksos, has been found in pre-18th dynasty contexts in Egypt (see p. 19, n. 11) and therefore must be dated earlier than about 1580 B.C. It is essentially (but not only) for this reason that it is believed to be Hyksos as well as "Hurrian." Another self-evident fact is that "Hurrian" pottery in Egypt must fall largely within the limits of the 16th as opposed to the 15th dynasty, and it may not be a bad guess that the coming of the new pottery marks the change of dynasties. Both old and new Hyksos pottery types appear to have had considerable vogue in Egypt, but since the two Hyksos dynasties allowed us by Manetho together probably lasted no longer than a century and a half, it may not seem unreasonable to suggest about 1650 B.C.¹ for the appearance of "Hurrian" pottery in Egypt. In Palestine and Syria it would have been somewhat earlier.

Although two-colored "Hurrian" pottery probably ceased being made in Egypt in its typical form about 1580 B.C., when Ahmose I drove the Hyksos from the country, there were a number of Hyksos holdovers which lasted at least to the middle of the 15th century. Among these we note "Hurrian" pottery in a modified form² and

¹ Roughly the halfway point between 1730 B.C. (beginning of 15th dynasty on evidence of the "stela of the year 400"; see p. 9) and 1580 B.C. (end of 16th, beginning of 18th dynasty).

² Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos* II, Pl. XXXIII B. 12, top right (Thutmose I); Garstang, *El Arábah*, Pls. XXIX E. 288, left (Thutmose III), and XXVIII E. 255, bottom row, 3d from left (Amenhotep II); Wainwright, *Balabish*, Pl. XIX 3 (late 18th dynasty).

Hyksos type alabaster³ and scarabs.⁴ Thus, while Hyksos political influence in Egypt seems to have been no longer an issue after 1580 B.C., Hyksos culture did not pass immediately out of existence.

The situation was quite different in Palestine and Syria during the first part of the 18th dynasty. At the end of the more or less concurrent 16th and 17th dynasties the Hyksos were defeated at Avaris and fled across the desert to Sharuhén, where they withstood Ahmose's siege for three years. Further action took place to the north. But then Ahmose, perhaps feeling that the menace had been removed, returned to Egypt to occupy himself with other matters. The Hyksos in the meantime probably had retreated no farther than they were driven and quite likely advanced again as the Egyptians returned to their own country. These were military movements only, and of course a large part of the population remained at home. Egyptian records speak of two more invasions of Asia before the time of Thutmose III.⁵ Thutmose I, according to the testimony of the two soldiers of el-Kab whom we first observed in the service of Ahmose I (see pp. 13 f.), carried on an Asiatic campaign which extended as far as Naharin on the Euphrates.⁶ Thutmose II, during a very short reign, conducted at least one campaign in Asia.⁷ Reasons for believing that the Hyksos were still in Palestine and Syria when Thutmose III came to the throne and that he and his son Amenhotep II were concerned with their final subjugation have already been given (p. 15).

The resulting picture, while lacking much desirable detail, is one of periodic unrest and considerable dissatisfaction—perhaps in the

³ Howard Carter in *JEA* III 151-53 and Pl. XXII 1-4 (Amenhotep I; the presence in the tomb of a vessel inscribed 'Auserre'-Apophis is curious); Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob* (London, 1927) Pl. XXIV 53 (Thutmose III?). Cf. *OIP* XXXIII, Fig. 184:1-5.

⁴ Newberry, *Scarabs*, p. 73: "With the close of the Hyksos period there is no discontinuity in the forms of scarab-backs commonly represented, but there is a marked incoming of new motives." See also Brunton and Engelbach, *Gurob*, Pls. XXIV 50 and XL 22 (Thutmose III); cf. *OIP* XXXIII 184 f.

⁵ A third campaign may be indicated by the possibility that Amenhotep I or Ahmose had reached the Euphrates, since Thutmose I in his second year spoke of that river as being the northern boundary of the empire (Tombos stela; *BAR* II, §§ 67-73), but according to known records he himself had not yet gone to Naharin.

⁶ *BAR* II, §§ 81 and 85. The Euphrates was not mentioned by either Ahmose son of Ebana or Ahmose-pen-Nekhet, but it is implied in the term Naharin.

⁷ *BAR* II, §§ 123-25.

spirit of the dispossessed—on the part of the Asiatics for more than a century after their expulsion from Egypt. Then Thutmose III (*ca.* 1479–1447 B.C.), on ascending the throne after Hatshepsut's passive reign, began his series of campaigns in Asia. It is clear that a coalition of city-states led by the king of Kadesh felt itself strong enough to oppose the then unknown king of Egypt.⁸ Thutmose waged seventeen campaigns over a period of about twenty years,⁹ and after a short period of apparent quiet Amenhotep II carried on in a single victorious march after a revolt following the death of his father.¹⁰ The Hyksos could hardly have existed as an influential political and military body after such a series of wars.

Increased knowledge of Palestinian archeology makes it all the more probable that the Egyptian 18th dynasty regime in Asia did not become at all effective until the reign of Thutmose III and that not until then were the Hyksos overwhelmed on Asiatic soil.

One of the strongest factors in this argument is that Hyksos type scarabs seem to have been used predominantly until the time of Thutmose III. Scarabs are notoriously suspect due to their size and what seems at times their habit of getting into places where they do not belong. Yet when scarabs are found in sealed deposits and when the results of country-wide excavation support an otherwise suspected situation, it may be assumed that a new fact has been discovered. As a result of observations made in the course of Palestinian excavation it is becoming increasingly apparent that scarabs of the pre-Thutmosid era were of the Hyksos style.¹¹

"Hurrian" pottery is another of the typically Hyksos products which appears to have been quite widespread before the time of Thutmose III but which underwent considerable modification after

⁸ Harold H. Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo*. Another version of the battle of Megiddo exists in the recently found Barkal stela (G. A. and M. B. Reisner in *ZAS* LXIX [1933] 31–33).

⁹ *BAR* II, §§ 391–540.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* §§ 780–98A.

¹¹ E.g. at Megiddo (*OIP* XXXIII 185 and Gordon Loud in *ILN* June 20, 1936, p. 1108), Jericho (Garstang in *AAA* XX [1933] 21–38, wherein are presented in detail the evidence and conclusions necessary to an understanding of two tombs in which occurred scarabs of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and Amenhotep III as well as Hyksos scarabs), and Baisan (see Garstang, *ibid.* p. 22).

that time.¹² Objects such as alabastra, bronze weapons, and bone inlays also passed out of use in their Hyksos forms about the time of Thutmose III.¹³

Thus there is an accumulation of supporting evidence which indicates that Hyksos culture was predominant in Palestine until at least the middle of the 18th dynasty. By contrast there is apparently no Egyptian Empire influence to be seen in any of the pre-Thutmose III deposits known at present. Megiddo provides an excellent check on the matter, since it is known that Thutmose III besieged and captured the city during his first campaign (*ca.* 1479 B.C.). The principal "Hurrian" stratum (IX) is typically late Hyksos, but the overlying stratum (VIII) shows clear evidence of late 18th dynasty contacts.¹⁴ Doubtless the city that Thutmose captured was that represented by Stratum IX. From that time on, Hyksos cultural influence was largely modified. The generalized archeological picture of the era of Thutmose III in Palestine is one of the breakdown of Hyksos culture.

Approximate dates may accordingly be assigned to the late Hyksos period in Palestine—that characterized especially by "Hurrian" pottery. From both textual and archeological evidence it appears that the period lasted about two centuries, from about 1650 B.C. until say 1445 B.C., when Amenhotep II quelled revolt among the peoples his father had fought for so many years. Drawing a line between the Hyksos period and that which followed is obviously an arbitrary matter. Hyksos influence did not die in that year or in any other single year, yet in general it may be said that the backbone of the Hyksos people and culture was broken by the physical events which took place during the reign of Thutmose III and the early years of Amenhotep II.

We have attempted to make it clear that the term "Hurrian" has been used for the reason that some of the most characteristic aspects of late Hyksos culture are comparable to material traits employed contemporaneously by a Hurrian-speaking people in northern Meso-

¹² The situation is clear at Megiddo; see *OIP* XXXIII 151–58 for distinction between LB I and LB II pottery from tomb deposits; the equivalent strata on the hill (IX–VIII) have been treated provisionally by Loud, *loc. cit.* See now *SAOC* No. 17, Strata IX–VIII.

¹³ See *OIP* XXXIII, chap. iv.

¹⁴ Loud, *loc. cit.*; see also *SAOC* No. 17.

potamia. It does not necessarily follow that any of the late Hyksos population spoke Hurrian, for a culture can be transmitted in devious ways. However, the predominance of "Hurrian" materials in Hyksos territory strongly suggests that a considerable movement of peoples was concerned. More positive evidence is to be seen in one of the names, H^3rw , which Empire Egypt applied to Syria and Palestine.¹⁵ Corroborative evidence is to be seen in the Hurrian character of certain slave names written on a fragment of limestone found in Egypt and probably dating to the first half of the 18th dynasty.¹⁶ While additional texts might greatly clarify the situation, the new name applied to Syria and Palestine is itself of the utmost significance.

The spread of "Hurrian" culture in its relatively unmodified form over large parts of Palestine and Syria during the late Hyksos period, and probably up to about 1445 B.C., carries increased meaning from the point of view of succeeding events. Two generations later Amenhotep III (ca. 1411–1375 B.C.) was confronted in this territory by open or secret revolt, and as has long been recognized many of the leaders bore Hurrian names.¹⁷ Furthermore, Mitanni, although by then allied to Egypt, had a very understandable interest in territory with a strong Hurrian background. These are matters not pertinent to our present problem, and the only point we wish to stress is that the Hyksos-Hurrian element in Palestine and Syria in the middle of the 15th century could well have been related to a Hurrian element in the same territory at the end of the century. It is in fact probable that from

¹⁵ *BAR* II, §§ 420 (Thutmose III), 798A (Amenhotep II), and 821–22 (Thutmose IV). The term persisted until much later; cf. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library* III (Manchester, 1909) 421, and Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* III (London, 1909) p. 68, No. 669. It is vocalized as Huru by Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934) p. 54. Breasted's restoration of H^3rw in a 12th dynasty statuette inscription from Ras Shamra (*Syria* XVI [1935] 318–20) remains open to doubt, principally because no contemporary corroboration exists. For Montet's restoration see *Syria* XV (1934) 132.

¹⁶ They were first published by Georg Steindorff, who considered them as Semitic (*ZAS* XXXVIII [1900] 15–18). A. Gustavs in *ZAS* LXIV (1929) 54–58 points out that while most of them are Semitic, others are probably Hurrian. He also suggests that Semken, a Hyksos king in Egypt, bore a Hurrian name.

¹⁷ See Gustavs, "Die Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Ta'anek" (Deutscher Palästina-Verein, *Zeitschrift* L [1927] 1–18).

about the middle of the 17th century Mitanni and "Hurrian" Syria and Palestine were very closely linked and developed along parallel lines.¹⁸

Before leaving the subject, and to reinforce our views, it would be well to note specific archeological evidence for a connection between the late Hyksos and 'Amarnah periods. The links are several and tend to establish the fact that there was considerable cultural and racial relationship between the two periods. This will be regarded as only natural and hardly contradictory to the generalized view that Hyksos culture was radically modified toward the middle of the 15th century. Three specific factors which cannot yet be completely evaluated but which appear to be of the utmost importance have developed from a study of remains of the two periods at Megiddo. In the later period painted pottery designs appear as modified "Hurrian" motifs; Kirkuk-Nuzi type cylinder seals seem to have been as characteristic of the later period as of the earlier; skeletal evidence indicates that the same racial element was present in both periods.¹⁹ The Canaanite world which confronted the Hebrews when they entered the land was based to a considerable extent on a Hyksos background.

¹⁸ Of considerable interest to the problem is the recently recognized relationship between Hurrian laws as seen from the Nuzi documents and previously unexplained patriarchal practices; see Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 44 and bibliography there cited and Cyrus H. Gordon, *Revue biblique* XLIV (1935) 34-41.

¹⁹ For details which cannot here be presented see *OIP* XXXIII 156 (pottery), 182-84 (cylinder seals), and 192 (Hrdlička's discussion of the skeletal material).

VI

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE HYKSOS

Recent archological work, especially in Palestine, has given us a very fair idea of Hyksos life and habits. We can visualize these people in their homes and workshops, and have found many of the things they manufactured. We can imagine them in their commercial dealings with other lands, and know some of the things they traded. Many details concerning Hyksos life are known, and yet when it comes to the question "Who were they?" we are obliged to confess almost complete ignorance.¹ But this much is certain: Their culture was so strikingly different from that which had preceded that it must be assumed that a new people was largely responsible. More than the advent of a vigorous ruling class was necessary to bring about this complete change of culture. What little skeletal evidence there is indicates that an earlier "Mediterranean" type was replaced in part during the Hyksos period by an "Alpine-like" type. This assertion is based on the character of only a few skulls from Megiddo,² which naturally cannot be regarded as representative of the entire Hyksos group. Little as is known about this perplexing question it nevertheless seems probable that a number of racial strains converged in the process of Hyksos development.³ The skulls would appear to represent only one of the aspirants to the honor of having participated in the Hyksos movement. Semites, Hurrians, Indo-Iranians, and Hittites are among the linguistic groups that have been nominated, and Josephus wanted to see in them the Hebrews. Actually all of them seem to be possibilities.

Semitic names, for instance Jacob Her and Jacob Baal, are clearly

¹ For a summary of opinions see Walther Wolf, "Der Stand der Hyksosfrage" (Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, *Zeitschrift* LXXXIII [1929] 67-79).

² See Hrdlička in *OIP* XXXIII 192. The two earliest "Alpine-like" skulls came from a deposit characterized by red burnished Hyksos-like pottery now datable to the first few centuries of the 2d millennium; see *SAOC* No. 17, Strata XV-XII.

³ See e.g. Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 47-52.

recognized in inscriptions of the Hyksos period.⁴ These, aside from a few adopted Egyptian names such as Apepi (Apophis) and Teti,⁵ are the only ones that are generally accepted as identified. But a non-Semitic group was also present. Efforts to identify the linguistic affiliations of Hyksos names in the Greek sources appear to be fruitless unless the Egyptian forms are known. There was, then, besides an unidentified non-Semitic ingredient, a clearly recognized Semitic element enmeshed in what is called the Hyksos movement. This will not be considered strange in view of the overwhelming Semitism (including Amorites and Canaanites) in Palestine and Syria about 2000 B.C. as shown by the late 11th dynasty Egyptian cursing texts⁶ and the so-called "Cappadocian" tablets referring to north Syrian cities. The Semites, however, can hardly have been the principal crystallizing agent responsible for Asia's fresh assault on Egypt. The dominance of Semitic names known at present may be due to a numerical predominance of Semites, but it may as well be due to incomplete evidence or to the fact that the non-Semitic elements were rapidly absorbed. We should not forget the implications of the radical modification in culture (see p. 41) and that along a broad northern frontier non-Semitic peoples were moving about. Hurrians appeared in Anatolia.⁷ Kassites, some of whose gods appear to have been Indo-Iranian, were drifting into Mesopotamia (see pp. 31 f.). From somewhere outside Palestine and Syria came strangers who brought an advanced metallurgy, new pottery ideas, the horse and chariot, and an encampment idea quite foreign to the newly adopted land. It is

⁴ See Hall in *JEA* V 75; Max Burchardt, "Zur Rassenzugehörigkeit der Hyksos" (*ZAS* L [1912] 6-8). But not all of Burchardt's identifications are generally accepted. Khyan, for instance, is considered by some to be non-Semitic (e.g. Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 48).

⁵ See Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Égypte* II 139-44; Newberry, "Notes on the Carnarvon Tablet No. 1" (*PSBA* XXXV 117-22).

⁶ Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches*; for a full discussion of the Asiatic material see Albright, *JPOS* VIII 223-56. Albright distinguishes clearly between Canaanite and Amorite.

⁷ A. Götze, *Kleinasiens* ("Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft," 3. Abt., 1. Teil, 3. Bd.: *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, 3. Abschnitt, 1. Lfg. [München, 1933]) p. 69, n. 4; Ignace J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* (*OIP* XXVII [1935]) pp. 13 f. and 16.

still too early in the study of Near Eastern history to tell from where these elements were derived or exactly how they were transmitted.⁸ But from the starting point of recognizing the Hyksos in Egypt one can backtrack at least to northern Syria in the search for origins. However, the trail then grows cold, and in circling to regain it much ground must be covered. The difficulty is increased by the probability that the trail was not single beyond Syria. It may have consisted of many units which crossed and recrossed in a wholly illogical and bewildering manner.

Tracing the new metal, bronze, and new metal forms to their sources would appear to be a fruitful method of approach. Undoubtedly this will be of extreme value ultimately, but at present too little material has been uncovered to provide a solid basis for consideration. The Caucasus has been suspected,⁹ but comparable metal forms from that territory are generally found to have been later than those known from Palestine and Syria;¹⁰ Childe is an exponent of the theory that Sumer itself was an early dispersing center.¹¹ It is certain that the earliest dated specimens of forms like, or comparable to, some metal implements regarded as Hyksos have come from Mesopotamia. Specifically we may note crescent-shaped dagger pommels¹² and socketed axheads (cf. p. 30).¹³ Toggle pins, one of the most characteristic of Hyksos metal forms, appeared in Mesopotamia as early as 3000 B.C.¹⁴ As for the bronze concept itself, it is an established fact that it was known in Sumer and Anatolia by the first half of the 3d millennium;¹⁵

⁸ It may be noted that civilization in Transjordan was largely erased early in the 2d millennium (Nelson Glueck in *AASOR* XIV [1934] 82). This coincidence with events taking place in Palestine can hardly be regarded as accidental.

⁹ Henri Hubert, "De quelques objets de bronze trouvés à Byblos," *Syria* VI (1925) 16-29; Henri Frankfort, *Archeology and the Sumerian Problem* (*SAOC* No. 4 [1932]) pp. 52-57.

¹⁰ See e.g. Stefan Przeworski in *Archiv orientální* VIII (1936) 395.

¹¹ "The axes from Maikop and Caucasian metallurgy" (*AAA* XXIII [1936] 113-19).

¹² Like those in *OIP* XXXIII, Pl. 149:2-3; cf. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*. II. *The Royal Cemetery* (London, 1934) Pls. 152 and 154b.

¹³ Like that in *OIP* XXXIII, Fig. 173:5; cf. Woolley, *op. cit.* Pl. 224 A 14-15.

¹⁴ Woolley, *op. cit.* pp. 239 and 310 and Pl. 231; Speiser, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra* I (Philadelphia, 1935) 109, 114, and 183.

¹⁵ *OIP* XXXIII 162.

but the source of tin, and even copper as far as Sumer is concerned, must be sought outside these territories.¹⁶ From indications thus far Mesopotamia seems to be involved in the question, but we may await the results of systematic excavation in the Caucasus and other suspect areas before crystallizing our ideas.¹⁷ If Mesopotamian parallels of the 3d millennium should prove to have a direct bearing on the case they would seem to indicate a Semitic or Sumerian contribution, no matter how remote.

The horse is generally conceded to have had original connections with Aryan peoples, and the etymology of its Egyptian and Semitic names can apparently be traced to Indo-Iranian **asya* (Sanskrit *ásva*).¹⁸ However, the fact that there was a Semitic intermediary allows distinctly for the possibility that Indo-Iranians themselves did not get to Egypt, although they would have come into contact with a Semitic element among the Hyksos. Another term which occurs in Egyptian, *mryn*, for Syrian soldier or chariot warrior, seems to be related to Mitannian *mariannu*, which in turn has been compared to Sanskrit *márya*, meaning "(young) man."¹⁹ Again there could have been an intermediate factor between the Indo-Iranian and Egyptian.

The horse and chariot, together with associated paraphernalia, were introduced to Egypt during the Hyksos period, and aside from the generally accepted belief that they were products of the "Aryan cradle" and were not used in southwestern Asia and Egypt until rela-

¹⁶ Lucas in *JEA* XIV (1928) 108 suggests Armenia and Iran as possible sources of tin.

¹⁷ Mesopotamian 3d millennium parallels for Hyksos pottery forms are suggested by V. Christian in *Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Mitteilungen* LXVI (1936) 208 f.; see also Albright, *AASOR* XII, § 20.

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. Childe, *The Aryans* (New York, 1926) pp. 18, 83, and 109. Egyptian *ssm.t* was evidently derived from Hebrew (Canaanite) plural *sšm*. *Ssm.t* represents only the consonantal structure of the name, the "t" being the feminine termination.

¹⁹ *Wb.*; Meyer, *Geschichte* I 2, § 465; Albright, "Mitannian *maryannu*, 'chariot-warrior', and the Canaanite and Egyptian equivalents" (*Archiv für Orientforschung* VI [1930/31] 217-21); Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 19. The Egyptian term *wrry.t* for chariot is of uncertain etymology; see Gunn in *AASOR* XIII 49 f., n. 119. Another Egyptian term for chariot (*mrkbt*) is definitely of Semitic origin (see *Wb.*).

tively late times,²⁰ the etymologies cited are arguments for the presence of Indo-Iranians in the Near East. But on the evidence the presence of Aryans in Egypt can be neither affirmed nor denied.

The rectangular camp and the characteristic revetment have also been attributed to Aryans, although this is yet to be clearly proved.²¹ It is certain, however, that this type of camp was foreign to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, where it is found first in Hyksos contexts. The theory that such camps are to be linked to similar structures in Iran and Transcaspiā²² is appealing, but more evidence is required to prove it conclusively. In any case are they Aryan structures? The rectangular form of Hyksos towns would imply origin in a plains country, where town shape was not controlled by irregular configuration of a hilltop. The solution of the Hyksos problem very clearly lies in lands far away from Egypt. Neolithic and Early Bronze fortifications were widespread in Europe, including South Russia, and may have a bearing on the problem. If such be true, the Caucasus will have been a likely route of transmission.²³ However, this much may be said about the evidence of foreign camps in southwestern Asia and Egypt: It is much more likely that a new people brought the idea, which involved a number of set characteristics, and had the installations made under their own supervision than that the concept was transmitted in a more remote and secondhand manner.

The real difficulty with the acceptance of an Indo-Iranian strain among the Hyksos is the complete absence of direct philological con-

²⁰ Chariots were used in Babylonia much earlier; cf. e.g. Henri Frankfort, Thorkild Jacobsen, and Conrad Preusser, *Tell Asmar and Khafaje* ("Oriental Institute Communications," No. 13 [Chicago, 1932]) Figs. 44-45.

²¹ Cf. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (London, 1906) pp. 2-10; Albright in *JPOS* II 122 f.; in Society of Oriental Research, *Journal* X (1926) 245-54; in American Philosophical Society, *Proceedings* LXIX (1930) 446; and in *BASOR* No. 47 (Oct., 1932) p. 8.

²² Albright in Society of Oriental Research, *Journal* X 252-54, describes a rectangular inclosure near Merv in Transcaspiā and another at Kal'ah-i-Gabri south-east of Teheran. Unfortunately neither of these sites is well dated.

²³ Whether the ramparts of Boghazköy bear a relationship to those in Syria is not yet clear (see Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* [London, 1929] pp. 81 f.).

nections in Palestine and Syria until the 'Amarnah period.²⁴ No Indo-Iranian names have been identified in the earlier Hurrian documents, including those from Arrapha.²⁵ But it is only caution to recall that one of the most interesting points about the Hyksos in Egypt is that they apparently adopted the Egyptian language and that their kings used the native royal titulary and, in some cases, bore Egyptian names, thus tending to submerge the signs of their original linguistic character.

It may be objected that these are not true indications of general acceptance of Egyptian culture by the Hyksos who reached Egypt. Ptolemaic kings built in the Egyptian style, used good Egyptian on their monuments, and adopted the traditional royal titulary, yet lived as Greeks.²⁶ It is notable, however, that they did not assume Egyptian names as did some of the Hyksos. A further indication that the Hyksos attempted to adjust themselves to Egyptian culture may be seen in the seemingly unintelligible use of poorly formed hieroglyphs on great numbers of scarabs. The important point is that although Egyptian was foreign to them, and their use of it was often bad, they nevertheless adopted it.

Hurrian is the one foreign element which seems to have emerged with any clarity as a result of recent research, although none of the non-Semitic names of Hyksos kings has been generally accepted as Hurrian.²⁷ In our discussion thus far we have applied the term "Hurrian" to the late Hyksos period. Its use was based on a similarity of material traits to those in an area in northern Mesopotamia in which Hurrian was contemporaneously the predominant tongue. The extent to which these cultural elements characterized the late Hyksos

²⁴ See Joh. Friedrich, "Arier in Syrien und Mesopotamien" (*Reallexikon der Assyriologie* I [1928] 144-48), and Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 18-20. N. D. Mironov in *Acta orientalia* XI (1933) 150-70 attempts to show that some Hyksos proper names had Indic and Iranian roots, but his conclusions are far from convincing. For an answer to Mironov see A. B. Keith in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* XII (Calcutta, 1936) 571-75.

²⁵ Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 51.

²⁶ For a picture of the Ptolemaic court see Edwyn Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London, 1927) pp. 118-24.

²⁷ Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 51. Albright, however, has suggested that certain royal names—Semken, Sh(u)rk, and Khyan—are Hurrian; see *From the Pyramids to Paul*, L. G. Leary ed. (New York, 1935) p. 17.

period seems to call for the reconstruction of a migration of considerable proportions, probably originating in Armenia according to recent opinion.²⁸ This, together with the strong Hurrian character of Palestine and Syria in post-Hyksos times, makes it altogether probable that Hurrians were a vital part of the Hyksos movement, at least in its later manifestations.²⁹

While it would be difficult to prove, Hurrian influence is not altogether improbable among the first Hyksos, although it would hardly have been as strong as later. We have in mind the few names of this character in 20th century "Cappadocian" texts (see p. 42, n. 6). Knowing as little as we do about the entire matter of origins, the presence of any new element in the vicinity is to be considered. A century or so later, during the 18th century, Hurrians as organized bodies were encountered by Old Kingdom Hittites in their raids on Aleppo and Babylon. Three generations of Hittite kings (Hattushilish, Murshilish, and Hantilish) spoke of the Hurrians, and, while some of the texts are ambiguous as regards location of these people, some of them were definitely in northern Syria.³⁰ The relationship of these Hurrians to the earlier Hyksos movement is purely conjectural and yet, because of the time element involved and the certainty that there was other than Semitic blood among the Hyksos, is not to be disregarded.

Any argument for the inclusion of Hurrians in the early Hyksos movement, based as it would be on contiguity unless the skulls have a bearing, would necessarily have to consider Hittites for the same reason. Whatever knowledge we have of the early Hurrians just cited we owe to Hittites who came into contact with them on forays

²⁸ See e.g. Götze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer* (Oslo, 1936) pp. 105 f.

²⁹ The relationship now discernible between Hurrian laws and patriarchal practices has had a clarifying effect upon the problem (see p. 40, n. 18). On the identity of Hurrian and Horite see Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 26-31 and Albright, "The Horites in Palestine" (*From the Pyramids to Paul*, pp. 9-26).

³⁰ See Emil Forrer, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* II (*WVDOG* XLII [1922]) 12 A i 24-25; 14 a i 12 and 16; 17 A rev.(?) iii 16, 18, 23, and 33; 19:4 and 8; 20 ii 15; 21 iii 9-15; 23 A i 30 (translation of last in Edgar H. Sturtevant and George Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* [Philadelphia, 1935] p. 185); 23 A i 3; *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (*WVDOG* XXX and XXXVI [1923]) I 27; and *Keilschriftkunden aus Boghazköi* III (Berlin, 1922) 89. These references are due to the kindness of Dr. Robert S. Hardy, formerly of the Oriental Institute.

into Syria and Mesopotamia. The archeological approach to the problem seems to offer little hope as far as Anatolia is concerned, although further excavation in both Anatolia and northern Syria may indicate that significant cultural links existed.³¹ Earlier Hurrian remains in northern Syria have not been conclusively identified.

There was another probable element among the Hyksos which should also be considered, with the understanding that it possessed a quality quite different from those already treated. The Habiru, first noticed in Mesopotamia toward the end of the 3d millennium, were closely linked to Hurrians in the succeeding centuries.³² The Habiru were originally neither a linguistic nor a racial group but appear to have been foot-loose peoples of variant stocks whose names were mostly Semitic but which at times claimed other linguistic affiliations.³³ Identification of Habiru names in texts depends entirely on their being labeled as such. These people therefore constitute a class rather than a linguistic or racial unit. It is difficult to formulate a definition of the Habiru before they, in a later stage of development, attained the status of an ethnic group as Hebrews,³⁴ but Chiera and Speiser, from their study of the Nuzi tablets, found certain terms that seemed applicable to all Habiru. Such are "outsiders," "slaves," "raiders," "itinerants," "foreigner enemies," "adventurers."³⁵ While largely Semitic, the Habiru are usually found in close association with Hurrians and may be suspected of having been in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt with the Hurrian element of the Hyksos. But just as there was no racial or linguistic unity among the earlier Habiru, it is probable that there was no cultural unity.

It can be argued that there is a relationship between the facts we have observed and the patriarchal narratives. Abraham *ha'ibrî*, per-

³¹ T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (New York and London, 1936) p. 5, suggests that some of the Hyksos may have been Luvians.

³² Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 34.

³³ See Edward Chiera in *AJSL* XLIX (1932/33) 117 f.; Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 35.

³⁴ See Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, pp. 1-45, for the development of an ethnic "Hebrew" from an appellative "Habiru." Cf. also John A. Wilson, "The *Eperu* of the Egyptian inscriptions" (*AJSL* XLIX 275-80); Herbert Parzen, "The Problem of the *Ibrim* ('Hebrews') in the Bible" (*ibid.* pp. 254-61); and Gunn's note on the "Apu" in *AASOR* XIII 38, n. 93.

³⁵ Chiera in *AJSL* XLIX 118-24; Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 36 f.

haps "the nomad,"³⁶ is pictured as visiting Egypt in a peaceful manner and has often been compared to Ibsha, who led his caravan into Egypt in the reign of Sesostriis II (see p. 33). It happens that this is just the period in which we first notice evidence of the Hyksos in Egypt (see chap. iv). At a later time the entire "House of Jacob" entered Egypt and settled there. It is possible that we have here a recollection of the dominant occupation of Lower Egypt by the Hyksos.³⁷

The ethnic composition of the Hyksos is far from settled, and some aspects may never be discovered. It is clear, however, that the Semitic element was strong. Hurrians, too, seem to have played a major part in the movement, and it is probable that some of the mixed Habiru class accompanied them. Among other possible participants, Indo-Iranians appear to have made important contributions.

The problem of the ethnic composition of the Hyksos must be approached from the linguistic, the racial, and the cultural points of view. None of these aspects should be stressed to the exclusion of the others, for it is reasonable to suppose a priori that an originally Hurrian family, for instance, with distinct racial and cultural traits would speak one of the Semitic dialects by the time it had been in Syria or Palestine for as much as a generation. Linguistic evidence for the 2d millennium points to the fact that Semitic dialects were dominant in that territory.³⁸ To cite a similar situation in which all manner of races, nationalities, and customs mingle under the influence of one

³⁶ See Speiser in *AASOR* XIII 43 and 52.

³⁷ There can be no doubt that the patriarchal narratives preserve memories of historical worth. Some have been elucidated by recent discoveries, e.g. those containing elements of Hurrian law (Gen. 31:19-35). Joseph could well have been a vizier (Gen. 41:39-44) under a Hyksos king of Egypt. Arameans, too, may have been involved in the Hyksos movement. Jacob was described as a "roving Aramean" at a time when the Hebrews differentiated sharply between themselves and Arameans (Deut. 26:5). This would appear to indicate persistent tradition based on fact. We may also recall that Isaac and Jacob were married to Aramean kin (Gen. 25:20 and 28:2-5). The oft quoted statement (Num. 13:22) that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan (Tanis-Avaris) has never been tested archeologically. It is equally difficult to deal with Abraham and the purchase of the cave in the field of Machpelah from Ephron, the Hittite (Gen. 23), but there appears to be no reason why some Hittites could not have been settled in Hebron at the time.

³⁸ Albright in *JPOS* VIII 254.

principal tongue, we may point to the United States of today. Whatever the original composition of the Hyksos, its component linguistic parts would tend to be submerged by the dominant tongue. Customs would last somewhat longer, and race, for all we know, may be detectable if a large enough group of skeletons can be assembled for study. We have stressed the part that Semites played in the Hyksos movement. It seems certain that their influence bulked large because of the dominance of their speech. And yet we have no authority to say that the bearer of a Semitic name was, in the case of the Hyksos, not a Hurrian, or a Hittite, or an Indo-Iranian. Certain Hyksos kings bore what have been considered to be Egyptian names, but the chances are that these individuals were not Egyptian by ancestry. From their names we apparently learn nothing as regards ancestry. The survival of names belonging to the more submissive language groups would, on the other hand, be infinitely more instructive. In this connection it should not be overlooked that a number of Hyksos names remain unidentified linguistically.

Thus the matter stands, and, judged from the vast amount of modern literature on the subject, the need is clearly for additional evidence. New texts from the area of Hyksos occupation could be extremely helpful; additional archeological investigation in Syria and beyond, with close attention to cultural and skeletal indications, must be considered part of the method of solution.